

APRIL 6, 1973

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VOLUME 37/NUMBER 13

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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VOLUME 37/NUMBER 13
APRIL 6, 1973
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MARCH 28, 1973

Editor: MARY-Alice WATERS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 11071/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Phone: (213) 463-1917.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: Domestic, \$5 a year; foreign, \$8. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$25; all other countries, \$41. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$32; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

DEMONSTRATORS DEMAND FREEDOM FOR VICTIMIZED IRISH ACTIVISTS: Two hundred people marched through the streets of mid-Manhattan March 24 shouting "End internment in Texas! Free the Fort Worth Five!" The demonstrators started at Columbus Circle and marched to a rally at FBI headquarters.

Frank Durkan, an attorney for the five defendants and one of the rally speakers, explained that these men, all residents of the New York area, have been charged with no crime. They are in jail simply because they refused to answer questions put to them by a Texas grand jury.

Participating organizations in the action included the Irish Anti-Internment Coalition, Soar Eire Cumaan, Irish Republican Clubs, New York Barbers' and Waitresses' Association for Irish Aid, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, International Socialists, and Youth Against War and Fascism. Greetings of solidarity were received from the Anti-Internment League in Great Britain.

The fact that the demonstration took place outside of the FBI headquarters was significant. This marked the first time that many activists in the Irish and Irish-American movement had been willing to focus their attention in this manner on the pro-British activities of the U.S. government.

IRANIANS ARRESTED IN SAN FRANCISCO: On March 22, four Iranians were seized by the FBI and charged in a secret federal grand jury indictment with assault on a foreign official. These charges follow an alleged incident that occurred March 8 at the World Affairs Council Forum in San Francisco.

This meeting was called to discuss the "success" of the Shah's "White Revolution." Approximately 65 Iranians, many of them members of the Iranian Student Association, attended the meeting in order to express opposition to the Shah's regime in Iran.

The four Iranians arrested are Abbas Barkhader, Kam-biz Ghaemmagham, Parvas Badri Shikap, and Soussan Safarzade. At least one of these, Barkhader, was being processed for deportation before his arrest. Bail has been set at \$10,000 and conviction on the assault charge carries a maximum prison sentence of three years and \$5,000 fine.

FARINAS FREE ON PAROLE: A civil liberties victory has been won by Juan Farinas, who will be released on parole April 16, after serving one year of a two-year sentence at the federal penitentiary in Danbury, Conn. Farinas, a member of the Workers League, was framed up on charges of violating the Selective Service Act for handing out leaflets at his induction center in 1968.

PUERTO RICAN SOCIALISTS MEET: The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (U.S. Zone) is holding its first congress in New York City. A session open to the public will be held April 8 at Manhattan Center, 34th Street and Eighth Avenue, beginning at noon. Featured speakers will include PSP leaders Juan Mari Bras and Ramon Arbona.

CHICAGO SEVEN LOSE A ROUND: On March 26 a federal judge refused to dismiss contempt of court charges against the defendants and lawyers of the "Chicago Seven" conspiracy trial. The judge also turned down a request for a jury trial.

The Chicago Seven were on trial from 1969 to 1970 on charges of conspiring to riot. The charges stemmed from the 1968 Democratic Party convention demonstrations in Chicago. The defendants and their lawyers, William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass, were charged with contempt of court at the end of their trial in February 1970 and given sentences ranging from two months to four years.

SEATTLE SEVEN VICTORIOUS: Charges of conspiracy against the Seattle Seven have been dropped, ending the three-year case. The seven were charged in connection with a demonstration at the United States courthouse in Seattle on Feb. 17, 1970, protesting contempt of court sentences handed down in the conspiracy trial of the "Chicago Seven."

The seven were charged with using interstate telephone lines to incite a riot and, in some cases, with having crossed state lines to incite a riot. Although their trial ended in a mistrial in December 1970, the defendants were charged with contempt and given sentences at a forest camp, which they have served.

LESBIAN CONFERENCE: A West Coast Lesbian conference has been scheduled for Haines Hall at the University of California at Los Angeles for April 13-15. Conference organizers expect 1,000 women to attend from more than a dozen states. Speakers at the conference include Kate Millett and Robin Morgan. A full range of workshops and cultural events are scheduled. For more information, write to the West Coast Lesbian Conference, c/o Barbara McLean, 508 North Alta Vista Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90036. Telephone: (213) 934-6593 or 825-3945.

TEACH-IN CONDEMNS LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL REPRESSION: 250 people attended a teach-in sponsored by the Livingston College (Rutgers University) chapter of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) in New Jersey March 14. The all-day event included workshops on Colombia, Puerto Rico, and the Black power movement in the Caribbean. There was also protest music and a rally.

Speaking at the evening rally, which attracted a crowd of 150, were Paul Sweezy and Richard Garza. Sweezy, recently returned from a visit to Mexico, expressed deep concern for the increasing number of political prisoners in Mexican jails.

Linda Jenness, 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke at an afternoon workshop on women and the Cuban revolution. Other guest speakers included Tony Thomas, staff writer for *The Militant*; Enrique Espinosa; and Ramon Arbona, of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

French student revolt

By DENIS COLLET

PARIS, March 23—Tens of thousands of lycée (academic high schools) and university students took to the streets yesterday to demand an end to the recently imposed Debré Law. The law, named after Defense Minister Michel Debré, would eliminate draft deferments and require all youth to complete 12 months of military service by the age of 21.

Students I spoke with felt this law was designed to discourage students from starting or continuing lycée and university studies. This is the government's only answer to the growing inability of university graduates to find work in their fields. Students also feel the law would be used to intimidate political activists.

The Debré Law is the primary target of the student strikes that have erupted across the country in the past two weeks.

The minister of education issued a statement last night admitting that the absentee rate nationally was at 75 percent in the secondary schools.

Yesterday's demonstration was illegal, giving the police a pretext for attacking and arresting demonstrators. Ever since the 1968 general strike—which was sparked by a student struggle—almost all demonstrations have been refused a permit.

Despite the ban, estimates of the size of the demonstration ranged from 30,000 to 100,000. It is difficult to estimate the size because of police attempts to disperse the demonstrators. Decisions on assembly points and other logistics were made at student general assemblies, consisting of representatives of "struggle committees" in more than 100 Paris schools.

The Ligue Communiste (French section of the Fourth International), Révolution, and other groups to the left of the Communist Party provided the central leadership for the demonstration.



French students confront police in recent protest action

SACB IN ITS LAST GASPS: Nixon has proposed that the 23-year-old Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB), a vestige of the McCarthy era, be abolished by June 30. The board has been operating on an annual budget of \$400,000. Apparently Nixon thought it would be difficult to justify continued funding of the board while cutting back on social services.

But SACB seems to be trying to make the most of its last days in operation. On March 21, the board declared that the Center for Marxist Education in New York City was a "Communist-front organization." The ruling followed a report filed with the attorney general a week earlier in which SACB stated that the center was "controlled by the Communist Party," and aimed to "pave the way for . . . recruitment into the party."

Duba Weinstein, the center's director, said the center would appeal the issue to the courts, and labeled the statement "smear tactics." "The issue is freedom of educational institutions," she said.

—MIRTA VIDAL

A powerful example for American workers

General strike to hit wage limits in Britain

By DICK ROBERTS

The British Trades Union Congress has set May 1, the international workers' holiday, for nationwide strikes and protests against the Tory government's Phase 2 limits on wages. This will be the first general strike in Britain since 1926.

The date was set after a delay of more than two weeks. A protest had been called by the TUC March 5 but no date was set at that time.

Under Phase 2 the government will attempt to prevent any pay raises exceeding the formula of 1 pound plus 4 percent a week. After April 1, when the wage-control legislation goes into effect, unions can be fined for encouraging strikes that seek to surpass the government's formula.

On March 23, some 47,000 gas workers voted to end six weeks of strikes and slowdowns. The settlement accepted by the gas workers keeps their wages within the government-imposed limit but increases their take-home pay somewhat more by reducing their share of contribution to fringe benefit programs.

The British capitalist press is heralding this settlement as a model for workers. Their fire is especially directed against hospital workers, who are continuing selective strikes despite government strikebreaking attempts and arrests of the strikers.

Hospital workers unions have called for mass demonstrations in their support. One protest in Sheffield included more than 2,000 workers from 30 south Yorkshire hospitals. The London *Times* reported that "assistants at wholesale drapery departments in South Wales have decided to support the hospital workers' strike by refusing to supply linen bought by hospital authorities to combat the strike."

The 220,000 hospital workers are among the worst paid in Britain. Their jobs include scrubbing floors, washing bed pans and toilets, mortuary work, polishing furniture, and laundering soiled linen. At present, basic wage rates amount to about \$42 a week.

In an editorial praising the gas settlement, the *Financial Times* of London boasted about the success of Phase 1 of the Tory's antilabor policies. "Average wage rates, if not completely frozen, have risen at a pace which stands in striking contrast to the rapid rate of increase which had become normal in the months immediately preceding the freeze—and that despite a continuing increase, still due mainly to the cost of food, in the index of retail prices."

Frozen real wages and higher prices—that's the ideal for the British ruling class just as it is the aim of Nixon's wage control policies in this country.



A march in Oxford in support of gas and hospital workers strikes

Red Mole

On March 24, the British *Daily Express* carried an article that might just as well have appeared in any American paper with only slight changes in the figures. "Soaring food prices hit new peak," it declared.

"Food prices are continuing to soar—last month they went up by a further 1.8 per cent."

"This means that housewives are paying a crushing 29.7 per cent more

for food than at the June 1970 General Election.

"And the rise in food costs since the price freeze began last November has now reached 5.4 per cent."

British workers are setting many examples of how to fight the inflation that is eroding wages throughout the capitalist world. Their declaration of a general strike for May Day is an inspiration to all working people.

Hearings expose ITT-CIA plot vs. Allende

By CAROLINE LUND

Senate hearings on the policies of International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation have continued to expose the gangster nature of U.S. imperialism. The testimony and other evidence presented at the hearings documents the collusion of the U.S. government and corporations in million-dollar undercover operations against the Allende government in Chile.

The hearings on ITT are being conducted by a special subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. They are part of a two-year investigation the subcommittee has begun into the influence of American multinational corporations on U.S. foreign policy.

During the first week of hearings it was disclosed that ITT executives met in 1970 with White House aides Henry Kissinger, Charles Colson, and John Ehrlichmann to work out a plan to prevent the election of Allende, who, it was feared, might expropriate ITT property in Chile.

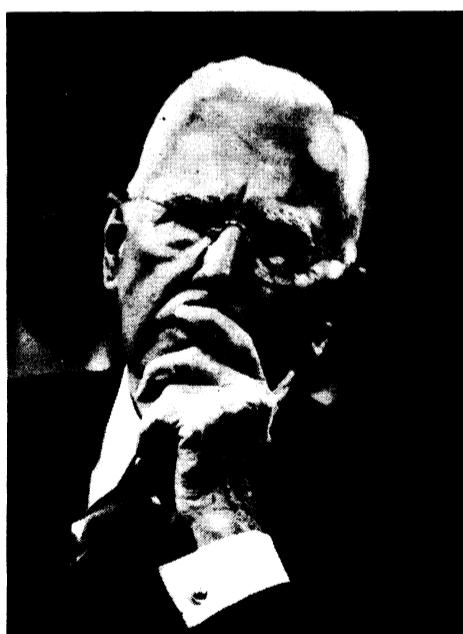
Following this meeting a Central Intelligence Agency official, William Broe, supplied ITT with a detailed plan for "inducing economic collapse" in Chile. Broe is the former CIA director of clandestine operations in Latin America.

The plot included such steps as getting U.S. banks and companies to deny credit to Chile, to "drag their feet in sending money and in making deliveries," stopping U.S. aid to Chile, and getting the Inter-American Development Bank to stop making loans to Chile.

In addition, ITT officials testified that Broe agreed to plans for fomenting violence in Chile aimed at provoking a military coup d'état. An ITT memo states that U.S. ambassador to Chile Edward Korry was also in on these plans. The memo says that

Korry had the authority "to move in the name of President Nixon. . . . to do all possible—short of a Dominican Republican-type action—to keep Allende from taking power."

Three weeks before Allende's election in November 1970, Broe in-



John McCone, former CIA director and now a director of ITT.

formed ITT officials that, in the words of an ITT document, "approaches continue to be made to select members of the [Chilean] armed forces in an attempt to have them lead some sort of uprising—no success to date."

After the Allende government seized ITT's Chilean holdings in September 1971, ITT executives wrote to a top White House official proposing that "everything should be done quietly but effectively to see that Allende doesn't get through the crucial next six months."

On March 21 and 22, ITT officials

were questioned about ITT's offer of \$1-million or more to the U.S. government in 1970 for organizing against Allende. The March 22 *New York Post* reported that "snickers" and "a ripple of laughter" greeted the statement by ITT representative Edward Gerrity that the \$1-million was meant "to demonstrate we had confidence in Chile, to show we want to stay there . . . to affirm our confidence in Allende and to help the Chilean economy." ITT officials are attempting to maintain that the money was for such things as low-cost housing and agricultural assistance.

The evidence from ITT documents, however, totally contradicts this story. Senators Clifford Case (R-N.J.) and Charles Percy (R-Ill.) have suggested that the money was rather intended for bribing members of the Chilean Congress and subsidizing anti-Allende newspapers.

Unfortunately for the American people, the Senate hearings will never provide the full story about the secret activities of ITT, the CIA, and the Nixon administration in Chile. The documents upon which much of the Senate investigation is based are only hastily written summaries of the contents of 34 boxes of ITT papers. The papers themselves are now in the possession of the Justice Department and out of reach of congressional subpoena.

The summaries were written by the staff of the Securities and Exchange Commission, which was investigating ITT on other matters. The SEC, on orders from the White House, sent the documents to the Justice Department as soon as the Senate subcommittee expressed interest in examining them.

Furthermore, prior to the beginning of public hearings on March 20, the Senate subcommittee heard testimony

from ITT officials behind closed doors. What was disclosed there that could not be told to the American people? We can only guess.

Just from the evidence revealed so far, however, it is obvious that the cooperation between ITT and the government is nothing exceptional but the rule. ITT's proposals for sabotage, provoking violence, bribery, and economic blackmail were all seriously considered, if not all accepted, by the government. They were not publicly exposed and rejected out of hand as interference in the affairs of another country.

The ITT revelations are one more illustration of the fact that U.S. foreign policy is designed to protect the investments and profits of the biggest corporations. This government of big business will stoop to any gangster means necessary to serve this end.

Of course Congress is also bought and paid for by the big corporations, so a logical question would be why are these hearings being held in the first place. This is because Congress fears that unilateral operations like those of ITT may prove embarrassing and contradictory to the interests of big business as a whole.

Condemning the crudity of ITT's maneuvers, and the fact that they got caught at it, the editors of the *New York Times*, for example, said March 22: "No Marxist critics, whether at home, in Chile or elsewhere, could inflict half as much damage on the standing of American international corporations or half as much discredit on the free enterprise system as has I.T.T.'s own behavior."

Congress simply wants to assert the right of the government to have control over all such operations, so that the interests of the capitalist class as a whole are best served.

'He was a revolutionary' Denver funeral honors Chicano killed by cops

By HARRY RING

DENVER—Nearly a thousand people gathered at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church March 20 for the funeral service of Luis (Junior) Martínez. He died at the hands of Denver police, one more Chicano victim of America's racist "justice."

A revolutionary activist, Luis was killed March 17 by the police under circumstances that remain to be fully established.

After he was gunned down, the police launched a massive attack on a dormitory building of La Escuela Tlatelolco, a Chicano school operated by the Crusade for Justice. Luis was a choreographer for the school's widely known Ballet Chicano de Aztlán.

The service at the church was brief and very moving. Standing before Luis's coffin, which was draped with the flag of Aztlán, Father José Lara conducted a simple mass. He asked divine blessing for those "who struggle against slavery and greed, those who struggle for human freedom."

He asked that there be remembrance for all those who have given their lives for the brotherhood of man, for a better world.

"We pray," he said, "for all Chicanos who have died for justice for our people."

The mass concluded with the singing of the song that has become the anthem of Aztlán, *Yo Soy Chicano—I Am Chicano*.

As the coffin was carried from the church, people stood on the sidewalk with clenched fists and cried: "Viva La Causa! Viva la Raza! Power!"

A long procession of cars escorted the body to Mount Olivet Cemetery, where a symbolic burial service was held. The next day Luis was interred in San Cristobal, N.M.

Luis had been born in New Mexico. Last summer he returned there when the Crusade held a summer school in the San Cristobal area. He marveled at the beauty of the surroundings and told friends that he would want to be buried there, not amidst the urban ugliness of a city like Denver.

When the funeral procession arrived at the cemetery, the people walked with the coffin to the burial area, perhaps three-quarters of a mile away. The coffin was borne by leaders of the Crusade and Luis's associates at Escuela Tlatelolco.

Leading the procession was a group of musicians. They strummed their guitars and sang the songs of the Chicano movement.

As the crowd filed along, young Chicanos and Chicanas of the Black Berets lined the cemetery roads, standing erect with clenched fists raised high.

There was a brief ceremony at the cemetery. Luis's brother Mark spoke about the meaning of the flag that draped the coffin.

"This is no ordinary flag," he said,

"this is *la bandera de Aztlán*. We must understand what this flag meant to Luis. He died for this flag—to create an independent nation for our people. Our nation is not America. It is Aztlán, a nation of our people that will benefit our people."

Corky Gonzales, leader of the Crusade, spoke, directing his remarks to the young people.

Many Chicano youth, he said, are rebelling but lack a clear orientation on how to resist their oppressors effectively. Luis Martínez was not one of those. "He was not confused," Corky said, "he was a revolutionary."

Corky spoke movingly of the need not to yield to the pressure to conform, not to fear to challenge the hypocrisy and lies of America's rulers, and not to be afraid to fight and, if need be, to die for truth and justice.

"Junior laughed at life," he said. "He loved life and he laughed at death. Everyone should take some of that spark of life. Live like he did."

"Junior knew what the truth was," he continued. "He would not back up one step for any man. He would not go crawling. He would not go begging. That is the kind of people we should all be."



Nearly 1,000 people attended funeral for Luis Martinez in Denver

Militant/Harry Ring

Accept official version of cop attack Denver press turns victims into criminals

By ALBERT BALDIVIA

DENVER, March 27—An attempt is being made here to convert the victims of the March 17 police attack on Escuela Tlatelolco into the criminals.

An editorial in the March 20 *Denver Post* entitled "Need more facts in shoot-out" states "neither this newspaper or this community is in any position to pass judgment on the clash between police and some Chicanos near the Crusade for Justice headquarters in east Denver early Saturday morning."

The editors do not mention the many wounds the victims of the cop attack suffered, the illegal searches, the destruction of evidence by the police with the complicity of "liberal" District Attorney Dale Tooley, or the illegal mass arrests and beatings of

Chicanos.

Calling for an investigation by a committee of the city council, the editors of the *Post* humbly request that "if the charges of some Chicanos that police have been harassing them are true, the committee ought to find out."

Then the editors get straight to the point, asking, "If the Crusade for Justice has been encouraging the accumulation of firearms in an apartment building near its headquarters, the committee ought to find out too and decide what can be done about it."

The *Post* editors, disregarding all the evidence of what actually happened during the predawn police assault, go on to state, "No citizen has the right to order a police car to leave any Denver street at any time. No citizen has the right to flee when po-

lice have placed him under arrest or to interfere when the police are attempting to arrest someone else. No citizen has the right to draw or fire a gun when police are attempting to arrest him, or to snipe at police when an arrest has been made."

The police version is upheld and the testimony and evidence presented by the victims of the attack is not even reported.

In an open call for further attacks on the Chicano community and the Crusade for Justice, the *Post* editors conclude with an ominous threat, "'All they who took the sword will perish with the sword,' said Jesus in the Gospel according to Matthew. It may well be that those who take the gun, who store the gun, carry the gun and use the gun are destined to suffer a similar fate."

The opinions of the *Denver Post* did not go unnoticed by Denver Chief of Police Dill, who announced last weekend that all police leaves were canceled, that a special squad was going to be on call for duty, and that patrols in the Chicano community would be doubled for the time being.

Meanwhile, the Denver coroner issued a report limited to a medical-pathological description of two bullet wounds in the neck and chest of Luis (Junior) Martínez. Martínez was killed by Denver cops just prior to the massive police attack on the Escuela dormitory. The Crusade for Justice has commissioned a California pathologist to conduct an independent autopsy in order to give a more complete picture of the circumstances leading to the death of Martínez.

N.Y. judge orders bilingual school ballot

NEW YORK—Federal Judge Charles Stewart has ordered the New York City board of elections to print bilingual ballots for the May 1 school board elections. He also ordered the board to "prepare and distribute multilingual sample ballot cards with voting instructions in Spanish/English and Chinese/English, and to provide multilingual instruction sheets in those languages and any other languages which the Board of Elections deems appropriate."

Judy Baumann, national secretary of CoDEL (Committee for Democratic Election Laws), called the March 22 order unprecedented and pledged renewed efforts to win the same rights for minority language groups nationwide. The order was the result of a suit filed on behalf of CoDEL, a voting rights group, by the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Georgina Hoggard, president of the District 1 community school board, hailed the decision and said it would help get out the vote in her district. More than 70 percent of the children in District 1 schools are Puerto Rican.



Jose Gonzalez

Hoggard was a plaintiff in the suit, along with candidates and voters from six school districts.

In another court action, filed by CoDEL and the Lawyer's Committee School Systems Project, State Supreme Court Judge Wilfred Waltemade ruled that a mail registration system for the school board elections could not be implemented. He said that "in person" registration seemed to be required by the New York State constitution. The decision is being appealed.

Last week, parent voters and candidates petitioned the state board of education to win the release of parent lists for use in canvassing and registering parents. "Teachers have lists of teachers; Catholics have lists of their church members; only parents are being kept from canvassing and registering their own group," Baumann pointed out in a March 22 CoDEL statement.

S.F. Shell workers discuss strike

'We want a say over our lives'

By NAT WEINSTEIN

MARTINEZ, Calif., March 18—"The issue in this strike is our lives."

I was told this in different ways by striking members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-5 in Martinez, Calif. Four thousand oil workers are on strike at nine locations in five states.

After a lengthy interview with Jake Jacobs, a business representative of this local, in which he patiently explained the issues in this strike against the Shell Oil Company, I asked to talk to some of the people who work inside the plant.

Jacobs ushered me into a small room and introduced me as a writer for *The Militant* to the small group sitting there. I explained that Jacobs had given me an outline of what the strike was about, but that I was interested in how they would put their thoughts on the matter.

Tom Montgomery, a steward and presently chairman of the negotiating committee, did most of the talking. "We work with materials we know to be harmful. But we don't know what these materials are. Everything is labeled with codes—like SO₂, DMA115, and TCP II." He spoke with the assurance of a man who spent 20 years of his life as a Shell Oil worker.

"You heard of TCP, the gas additive?" I nodded. "Well we knew it was dangerous stuff because workers had been getting sick. Besides the lab guys would require samples in 'redlined' metal cans and insisted that we wipe the cans clean before they would handle it. After a long series of disputes, the company quietly stopped producing this particular material but went on to produce TCP II."

"We want the company to tell us what's in this and all the other coded materials. We want them to open up the medical files so that we can have an independent study made. We want to have something to say about our lives and health, but the company flatly refuses."

At that point a woman burst into the room with what appeared to be a swarm of kids. "I followed this 'clipper' [a Shell Oil tank truck] from the supermarket to Gate X. And do you know those asses at the gate didn't try to stop them?" She softened her



Shell workers' wives signing up for strike support tasks in Houston.

criticism of sloppy picketing with a smile.

She was Carol Swanson, a working woman with five kids. She is not an oil worker, but her husband is. She and 55 other women took over the picket lines one day last week and were now organizing a demonstration around the sheriff's department for next week. She was invited to take part in the discussion and sat down.

Mike Minjack Jr. and George Costa, also stewards and on the negotiating committee, explained more about the issues in the strike. Minjack started. "We had 65 people suspended this past year because they refused to handle materials or operate machinery that they knew to be dangerous. The company tells the men, 'If you don't want to do it, there's the gate.'"

Costa picked up the argument. "Even the NLRB [National Labor Relations Board] has ruled that you are entitled to a hearing with union representation before the company can suspend you," he said. "But Shell tells us that they are the sole judge of what is or isn't dangerous."

"There was this guy Robert Henderson who was killed," Montgomery continued. (Jacobs had earlier given me the details: Henderson was ordered to light up an oil processing furnace. He refused, explaining it had a "cracked tube" and needed at least to be properly purged with nitrogen before lighting because of the danger of the hydrogen used in the process escaping and igniting. The foreman called the department manager, who ordered the furnace to be lighted because "they were already behind schedule." Henderson was killed when the

Continued on page 22

Anti-STRESS coalition keeps pressure on Detroit cop charged with murder

By RONALD LOCKETT

DETROIT, March 26—On March 22, Detroit patrolman Raymond A. Peterson was charged with second-degree murder in the death of Robert Hoyt. Peterson is a longtime member of the STRESS ("Stop the Robberies—Enjoy Safe Streets") unit of the Detroit police department. STRESS is the subject of widespread opposition from Detroit's Black community because its terror tactics have resulted in the deaths of many Blacks since its inception in 1971.

Peterson shot and killed the 24-year-old Hoyt on March 9. At the time, Peterson claimed that Hoyt sideswiped his car when he was off duty and on his way home. He claimed that he and another patrolman in a second unmarked car, pursued Hoyt after he allegedly failed to stop. After stopping him, they claimed Hoyt jumped from his car and attacked them with a knife. Peterson claimed he then shot Hoyt in self-defense, killing him.

On March 13, the Coalition to Abolish STRESS mounted an emergency picket line at the police headquarters at 1300 Beau Bien to protest the killing and demand that murder charges be brought against Peterson. The coalition pointed to Peterson's participation in eight of 17 fatal shootings by the STRESS squad as ample reason to disbelieve his story. His previous killings were all ruled as "justifiable homicide" by the Wayne County prosecutor.

Pressure for an investigation built as the March 17 *Michigan Chronicle* in its lead article punched holes in Peterson's story. Interviews with rela-

tives and co-workers proved Hoyt never carried a knife and was too mild-mannered to attack anyone.

Finally on March 22, the Wayne County prosecutor, William Cahalan, and police superintendent Anthony Bertoni told a news conference Peterson had lied and was being charged with second-degree murder. They revealed that the knife was Peterson's own knife and was planted by him. Bail was set by recorder's court Judge Henry Heading at a low \$3,000. Peterson posted the bond and was released until his April 9 preliminary examination.

Superintendent Bertoni said the arrest would have "no impact" on STRESS operations, since Peterson was not involved in a STRESS mission at the time.

Maceo Dixon, one of the coordinators of the Coalition to Abolish STRESS, said, "The Hoyt killing was no different from most of the others Peterson or other STRESS members have committed." "What was different," he went on, "was pressure from the Black community in the form of demonstrations, pickets, and hearings over the last few months which widely exposed the murderous nature of STRESS."

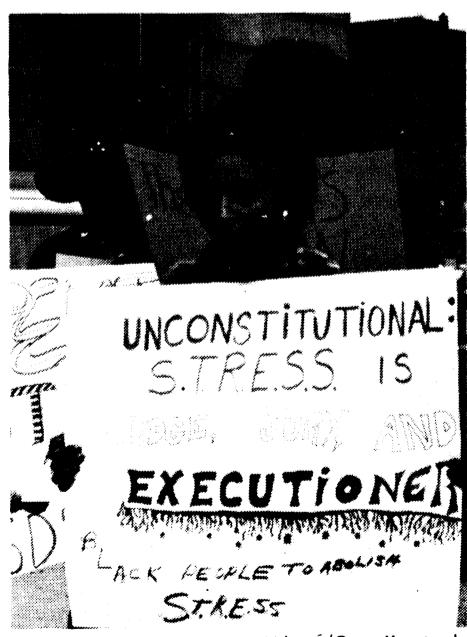
The coalition is planning a massive demonstration in April to demand the complete abolition of STRESS when the police budget is reviewed by the common council. The date will be set once the council sets the date for its budget hearings.

More than 250 Blacks attended a University of Detroit memorial meeting for John Boyd and Mark Bethune,

who were slain by Atlanta cops after a two-month manhunt by Detroit police. Melba Boyd, sister of John Boyd, spoke, as did his mother, Dorothy Clore. Maceo Dixon spoke for the Coalition to Abolish STRESS. Modibo Keita of the African Liberation Support Committee and Vera Coleman of Black Love also spoke.

Anti-STRESS activists also held meetings at Shaw College and Mumford High School.

Those interested in working with the coalition should call: (313) 577-3489 or 577-3491, or come to the Associated Black Students office in the University Center Building at Wayne State University.



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

March 13 anti-STRESS demonstration in Detroit.

Ellsberg case exposes U.S. role in Vietnam

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—As the defense develops its case, substantial blows have been dealt the government charge of espionage in the Pentagon papers trial. A series of former government officials, including ranking figures in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, have testified there is no basis for the charge that defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo injured U.S. interests or aided a foreign power by making public the Pentagon-authorized study of the Vietnam war.

Among those testifying for the defense have been John Kenneth Galbraith, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., McGeorge Bundy, and Theodore Sorenson.

On a whole series of counts, they have refuted the government's assertion that the Pentagon papers contained otherwise unavailable material of military value to the North Vietnamese government and to the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

The expert testimony provided by the defense confirms the true reasons for the prosecution of Ellsberg and Russo. The government is determined to railroad them to prison because they divulged information about the Vietnam war the government did not



Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo

want the American people to know.

While the papers did not contain anything of substance that was news to Vietnamese freedom fighters, they did confirm the increasingly recognized fact that the U.S. had been waging a war of aggression in Vietnam to pressure movements of national liberation.

For example, Morton Halpern, a former Pentagon and White House official, said the papers revealed how U.S. officials "deceived the American people" about Vietnam.

He told how the papers confirmed that the U.S. brought troops into South Vietnam with the false claim that the government there had requested them. He said the papers also showed the reluctance of the U.S. to begin negotiations because of the strength of the liberation forces and the weakness of the Saigon regime, and how bombing was used to forestall negotiations.

He said knowledge of this would be of no special value to the Vietnamese.

"Foreign nations," he explained, "would operate on the assumption that the American government deceived the American people."

U.S. out of Panama!

On March 21 John Scali, U. S. delegate to the United Nations, was forced to resort to a veto to block passage of a resolution on the Panama Canal Zone. It was only the third time the U. S. had to employ its veto power in the Security Council.

Thirteen of the 15 Security Council members voted for the resolution, which merely urged the U. S. and Panama to work out a new treaty for the Canal Zone "without delay." Panama's success in embarrassing the United States at the UN will be applauded by the people of all those countries that have been kicked around for years by the imperialist powers. Panama used the Security Council debate to build up pressure for its demand for sovereignty over the Canal Zone and removal of the 11,000 U. S. troops and 14 U. S. military installations situated in the zone.

The role of General Omar Torrijos, the military dictator of Panama, in opposing the U. S. on this issue does not stem from any revolutionary sentiments on his part, but is rather a maneuver to bolster his own support among the masses of Panamanians. Torrijos is himself a graduate of the U. S. military and counterinsurgency training schools operating in Panama. But his actions reflect the hatred felt by the Panamanian people as a result of the years of U. S. domination. They want an end to the contemptuous treatment they have received from the racist, rich American military elite occupying their country.

The "rights" the U. S. claims over the Canal Zone stem from a typical imperialist treaty obtained through treachery and threat of brute force. The 1903 treaty that gave the U. S. complete control over the Panama Canal Zone "in perpetuity" was negotiated by a French capitalist and forced down the throats of the Panamanians by threat of military intervention.

Panama has been fighting for years for control of its land. In 1964 troops fired into a crowd of Panamanian high school students who were attempting to raise the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone. Twenty-seven were killed and 200 wounded.

Panama's struggle is part of the worldwide rebellion of colonial peoples for self-determination and freedom. For example, Panama's demands were strongly supported by Cuban UN delegate Raul Roa. Roa called on the U. S. to also return the Guantanamo naval base in Cuba, which the imperialists have "occupied by force, against the will of the Cuban people."

Nixon talks a lot about "self-determination" but it's high time for him to apply this principle in Panama. The Canal Zone belongs to Panama! U. S. military installations out of the Canal Zone!

Support the ERA

Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by the Washington state legislature last week was an important victory for women. Thirty states have now passed the constitutional amendment. Eight more must do so for it to become law.

Washington women won ratification of the ERA despite the determination of reactionary forces to prevent it from passing. Spearheading the anti-ERA effort was Human Life, an anti-abortion group that obviously feels giving women equal rights in the Constitution is as much a threat to this male-dominated society as allowing women to control their own bodies.

Anti-ERA forces in Nebraska just succeeded in getting their state legislature to overturn its previous vote in favor of the bill. It is unclear whether this reversal will be ruled constitutional, but this is another sign of the effort under way to block ERA ratification. Success in this effort would deal the women's liberation struggle a serious setback.

What is needed to win passage of the ERA in the required eight states is a campaign of action and education that will show massive support for equal rights in the most visible manner possible.

Reparations

In regard to your opinion of Vietnam reparations, I am highly disenchanted.

It is obvious that the war was an economic advantage to the U. S. The conflict enables the government to spend money in our economy to stabilize what is a failing system.

By supporting reparations to the North, South, or anywhere in Indochina, nothing is being accomplished but U. S. imperialism and fiscal maneuvering. We can maintain our economy by rebuilding what we have destroyed—and again the money flows through the Pentagon.

Admittedly, by not allowing funds to be given to the North, those people will suffer a great loss. However, the advantages to curtailing Amerikan imperialism by abstaining from the funding are enormous.

S. F.
Potsdam, N. Y.

Men need liberating

In the March 23 issue, Ms. Jaquith wrote a good article showing that Betty Friedan has been criticized by many feminists for saying the women's movement includes people for socialism and lesbians who were hired by the CIA or FBI.

One thing I noticed is that she said women must fight for liberation. As a man who is in NOW, I think men should also be involved in the women's movement. Men also need liberation from their sex roles. Under socialism this could be achieved.

C. W.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Abortion

For six of the longest years of my life I marched in the streets, worked on petitions, wrote letters, and did all I could to end the slaughter of men, women, and children in Vietnam.

The Pentagon has made life cheap in Southeast Asia. Now the Supreme Court, with legalized abortion, had made life cheap in America for the unborn baby.

As a postal worker, an atheist, and a human being, I protest this vicious destruction of life.

Nick Lococo
Chicago, Ill.

Khartoum

I would like to reply to Gloria Bamberger's letter in the March 23 issue. The important issue raised by the recent Khartoum tragedy is not one of its abstract "morality" or "immorality" but of its practical effects on the Arab revolution in general.

The Khartoum events gave the international bourgeoisie exactly what it needed in the bloody wake of the Sinai airliner massacre, which had coincided so embarrassingly with the attack on the civilian refugee camp in Lebanon.

The bourgeois press was able to trick millions of sincere people

by blowing up selected events to fantastic proportions entirely divorced from the context of the Mideast as a whole.

Black September is irresponsible in providing the pretext for such distortions. Groups like Black September, though they are willing to give their own lives for their people, still do not understand that a revolution can only be made by those people themselves, by the masses.

Steve Manty
Springfield, Mass.

Is God dead?

Leon Trotsky wrote, "I shall die a proletarian revolutionist, a Marxist, dialectical materialist, and, consequently, an irreconcilable atheist."

Although I've read many of the works by dialectical materialists, I still don't see in what way subscribing to the theory of the dialectic necessitates a disbelief in God.

Since it is impossible to make an objective determination as to whether God does or does not exist, I think a flat denial of God's existence would be rather fallacious reasoning.

J. G.
San Diego, Calif.

Attica

Brother Baxter Smith's interview with two Attica defendants that appeared in the March 16 issue was an outstanding call to action. I hope it was caught by all who got hold of that issue because we are talking about the lives and well-being of over 60 defendants who have been indicted for voicing their just grievances.

They are another Angela Davis, Panther 21, and Chicago Seven, and like them they need the help of all of us.

We sent their defense committee some bread. We're going to try to reprint the article for distribution and tell our friends about them. For those who missed it, the address is: Attica Brothers Defense Fund, c/o *The Challenger*, 1301 Fillmore Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 14211.

Sam & Diane Chetta
Catskill, N. Y.

Needs The Militant

We definitely need the news we receive from your newspaper.

Here in prison some people have no access—because of administrative policies—to newspapers. From your newspaper and others some of us have been able to put together a People's Newsletter for the brothers who are confined in these special segregation areas.

Keep on pouring in the news so we can keep on educating.

A prisoner
Maryland

Rents

About an item in Ms. Jenness's proposed legislative action program in the March 23 *Militant*.

Apartment rents: If rents were fixed in relation to the tenant's



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

income rather than in relation to the rental unit itself, landlords would simply decide how much rent they intended to charge for any type of unit and refuse to rent such units to any new tenants whose allowable payments under the new law were less than that.

Why not, instead, limit rents in relation to the landlord's actual costs? Then, build many very cheap apartments that would be offered to all regardless of income.

*Kenneth Nygren
Richmond, Va.*

Stimulating & provocative

I want to thank Dick Roberts for his article "Mass transit financing is boon for capitalists, fraud on public" in the Dec. 29 *Militant*.

I personally found it very stimulating and provocative. I am still in the process of trying to figure out the situation you have described. Any more articles along this line on the subject would be appreciated.

*Q.T.
Philadelphia, Pa.*

Sloppy & slanted

I have been reading *The Militant* for almost four months and cannot believe that anyone could be so bold as to refer to it as "news coverage."

It is one of the poorest amalgamations of sloppy rhetoric and slanted commentary I have ever had the misfortune to read.

*J.E.
Nebraska*

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) is a political party founded on Aug. 8, 1963, out of the necessity of unleashing the shackles of British colonialism, racism, and imperialism in Africa. Most of its top leadership has been in prisons (detention without trial), and concentration camps since 1964.

All forms of dehumanization are perpetrated against the African people in all walks of life. In spite of all those hardships inflicted upon our people by the colonial, racist, illegal regime of Ian Smith, our people have not flinched an inch from the desire to achieve national independence and restore human dignity.

Financial, material, and moral support from outside of Zimbabwe (South Rhodesia) is essential in sustaining the struggle. In addition, it is our responsibility to inform the rest of the world of the developments in our struggle. As a result, our party has set up an office in the U.S. to disseminate information to our friends in this country.

The address is 310 Parnassus Ave., Apt. 203, San Francisco, Calif. 94117.

*Kumbirai Kangai
ZANU representative in North American
San Francisco, Calif.*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Can we stop runaway shops?

Runaway shops are nothing new to the old industrial regions of this country, and not to Detroit either. The New England textile industry long ago moved South. More recently the diversification of the auto industry has caused factories and supplier plants to abandon the one-time "auto capital."

U.S.-based multinational corporations are building new factories in Europe and Asia, closing installations here. It is all part of the endless quest for lower wages, cheaper production, and higher profits.

An old-time Detroit firm, Huck Manufacturing Company, notified its 450 employees Feb. 16 that it is leaving town. "Changing conditions in the markets in which we do business and the many problems associated with manufacturing two different lines of products, aerospace and industrial, in an obsolete, inefficient multi-plant complex were compelling reasons for arriving at this proposal," says the company.

The form letter to all hourly-rated workers adds this: "There were, of course, several other reasons for considering this move, such as taxes, the cost of utilities, services, building maintenance and high local wage rates."

What does this mean? "We will be discussing all of this with your union representatives," says the company letter.

The union is United Auto Workers Local 212, home local of UAW International Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey.

Huck Manufacturing is relocating in Waco, Texas. A Huck worker reports, "Wages were compared in two classifications—sweepers and machinists. In Texas sweepers will get \$2.40 an hour, the Detroit rate is \$5.16. A machinist who earns \$5.86 an hour will get only \$4.20 if he follows the company to Texas. And of course all the benefits that go with an organized shop will be gone as the plant in Waco will not be organized."

Local UAW officials tried negotiating hat in hand, hoping to salvage something. But mostly they talked about what should be done in the future for other similar situations, which they say can be handled by electing more liberal Democrats who will pass new laws. "Such legislation should require that the social and economic effects of a contemplated plant location or relocation upon the community and the

nation be a prime consideration of such decisions," according to an article in the March 14 issue of *Voice of Local 212* signed by Hank Ghant, the local's president.

Even this modest plea shows the great gap between what is and what should be. The sad fact is that no such legislation exists or is likely to exist as long as the UAW continues to support capitalist politicians.

Workers in the Huck plant are mad, first at the company and then at the union. Most of them have never been in a spot like this before.

UAW Regional Director Ken Morris flew to Florida for a meeting with the president of Huck, hoping to persuade him to stay in Detroit. Morris offered "a substantial reduction in wages," giving up year-end bonus pay, sacrificing one week of vacation time, reducing company payments to the workers' health plan, and revising work practices, plus a few other concessions. Instead of negotiating to meet the needs of the workers, UAW officials are now busy trying to meet the needs of management.

This is typical of the present crop of union officials. All of them are committed to the proposition that workers are helpless to do anything for themselves, that they must always have a boss to work for who will tell them what to do.

It is the exact opposite of the ideas and hopes that inspired the pioneer organizers of the union movement. These present-day labor bureaucrats are due for some surprises, and so are the bosses.

The auto union and the giant CIO were built in harder times by industrial workers, not by the career officials who today feed on those unions while pondering the problems of management.

This generation of young workers will take up the job of organizing the unorganized where the founders of the CIO left off. That will check the runaway shops, because the rates of pay will be the same in Waco and Detroit.

But a resurgent labor movement will go beyond limited organizing drives and will demand union control of production, shorter hours of work, jobs for all, and the management of industry to meet the needs of society.

Unions today are powerful enough to make such demands, and they will grow stronger in the fight to win them.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas

The thirteenth candidate



In a recent poll the *Los Angeles Times* took on the April 3 municipal elections, the question was posed: "What interests you about the mayor's race?" The most common response was, "Nothing." One poll in the Chicano community showed that 50 percent of those questioned had no preference among the candidates.

Incumbent Samuel Yorty says he is running on his record of achievement. However, among his "achievements" he does not mention the murderous suppression of the Chicano Moratorium antiwar demonstrations by his administration in 1970.

During the Yorty administration of the past twelve years there has been so much racist brutality and discrimination that his opponents find him an easy target.

But what do the others have to offer? City Councilman Thomas Bradley, a Black liberal Democrat, is receiving the support of many people who say they are against racism, including the Communist Party. But Bradley offers nothing essentially different. He has stated over and over again that he will send even more cops into the barrios than we have now! This is the solution we can expect from someone who was a model cop for 21 years.

Jesse Unruh has been promising more representation for La Raza if elected. We could use some. However, when he was in a position to achieve this as speaker of the California assembly a few years ago, he supported instead a reapportionment plan that did not create even one electoral district where Chicanos are a majority.

Unruh has been courting the Chicano vote by

handing out thousands of three-inch high trees in East Los Angeles, with such slogans on them as "Root for Jess... Beat Smog." What an insult to our people.

The other major party candidates have echoed the same empty promises: Trust me, and I will make everything better after I'm elected.

It is interesting to note that in this city where hundreds of thousands of La Raza live, the two major parties have not seen fit to run a single Chicano among their twelve candidates for mayor. Not even a token. This is how concerned they are with relating to the demands of Chicanos for representation in the decisions that affect their lives.

However, there is a thirteenth candidate in the race, a Chicana. Her name is Olga Rodriguez, and she is the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Rodriguez has been telling the truth about the demagogic capitalist politicians, including the liberal Bradley. She has been pointing out that the tiny minority of rich gringo capitalists and the two parties they control are the ones responsible for the oppression of Chicanos. She has been urging Chicanos to form their own party to fight for self-determination.

Rodriguez is an activist, not a *politica*, and many Chicanos are sympathetic to her campaign. They might have seen her on television or heard her on the radio, debating Bradley, Unruh, and Co. Or maybe they are in one of the MECHA's or other Chicano organizations that have invited her to speak.

Even those who don't agree with all the points on her socialist program can see that her campaign is a real alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Doeburger—Maryland officials suspect that an increase in illegal deer kills may be related to soaring meat prices. They convicted one restaurant operator for buying illegal deer for hamburger.

Symbolism department—The astronauts scheduled to spend several weeks in a space station have chosen symbols to represent major elements of their studies, including a rainbow, a tree, a hydrogen atom, man, the sun, and the earth. Seems like they forgot the key symbol, \$\$\$.

Keeping things stable—The agriculture department says it will help sta-

bilize meat prices if packers are permitted to continue stuffing franks with such items as pork snouts, goat tongues, and hog bladders. They said they would require a label clearly showing consumers what they're getting. That might not stabilize unduly sensitive stomachs. But it could help cope with rising prices by decreasing the demand for food.

Dentist's delight—The British government abolished an 18 percent tax on candy, ice cream, and soft drinks and imposed a 10 percent tax on toothbrushes.

Social planners—To relieve the prob-

lem of dogs relieving themselves on the street New York officials are distributing a free newspaper on how to train fido on how to do it in the house on newspaper. The only requirement is an extra room to be covered with newspaper. With regular reductions, a pup is eventually down to a single sheet. A "strong odor-neutralizing chemical" is advised in the event that mishaps occur.

The fuel pump might be clogged too—Researchers report that a national survey showed smokers have 2.5 to 4 times more carbon monoxide in their blood than average.

U. S. "intelligence"—There are presently nearly one billion government documents carrying security classifications. New ones are being produced at the rate of 200,000 a day.

And that doesn't count busted heads—One cop in twelve was cited for disciplinary infractions in 1972 in Washington, D. C.

Progress report—A bill has been introduced in the California legislature that would assure all breeds of horses equal opportunity to race at local and state fairs. Maybe, in due time, there will be a similar bill covering jockeys.

Women In Revolt

Golda Meir: example for feminists?

During my campaign for president last year I was often asked if Golda Meir, prime minister of Israel, is an example to be emulated by feminists struggling for political power. Meir provides the answer herself in an interview with Oriana Fallaci in the April issue of *Ms.*

In response to a comment about the women's liberation struggle, Meir said, "You mean those nuts that burn their bras and walk around all disheveled and hate men? They're crazy. Crazy. How can one accept crazy creatures who deem it a misfortune to get pregnant and a disaster to give birth to children? When it's the greatest privilege we women have compared with men! Feminism!"

Fallaci pointed out to Meir that it's more difficult to be a woman than a man and Meir agrees, "But not necessarily through men's fault: for biological reasons, I'd say. It's the woman who gives birth. It's the woman who raises her children."

And to make sure that Israeli women comply with Golda Meir's image of women as child-breeders and child-raisers, the Israeli laws enforce it. Abortions are illegal in Israel, state health services do not offer advice on birth control or issue

pills, child care is only available to those on welfare, and only husbands can ask for a divorce.

Meir continues, "I've lived and worked with men all my life: yet being a woman has never, I repeat, never, hindered me. . . . Men have always been good to me."

Allowing that this might be—if true—an exception, Meir says, "Certainly, not all women have had the same experience: however that may be, my personal case doesn't prove those crazy women are right. There's only one point I agree on with them: to be successful, a woman has to be much better at her job than a man."

Many women in Israel are not so ready to accept the fact that they "must be better" in order to be treated equally, nor do they think they are crazy. Marsha Friedman, a professor of philosophy at an Israeli university, states in the July 21 *Canadian Jewish News*, "There are many myths about the equality of women in Israel perpetuated by Golda Meir and her generation. . . . people think that Israel is an advanced country in this respect. It isn't." Friedman predicts a powerful women's liberation struggle in Israel, in spite of Golda Meir.

Meir told *Ms.* how she feels about the U. S.

Linda Jenness



"America is a great country. . . . a country full of opportunities, of freedom! . . . Maybe I'm not objective, but I'm so grateful to America! I'm fond of America—okay?"

Okay, but it's not because America is "full of freedom." It's because U. S. imperialism has militarily and politically supported Israel's dispossession of the Palestinian Arabs and its expansionist policies against the Arab nations.

Ms. magazine's only editorial comment is to state, "In this remarkable interview, one of the world's most powerful leaders talks about her life as woman, as Prime Minister of Israel, as mother, as wife. Golda Meir is honest and direct about her personal life, hiding neither feelings, conflicts, nor vulnerabilities."

By holding Meir up as an example of the accomplishments of womankind in this way, *Ms.* does the women's struggle a grave disservice. Golda Meir is obviously not someone for feminists to emulate. Not only does she oppose the fight of women for full human dignity, but she is also the head of a racist, capitalist nation that is determined to crush the liberation struggles of the Arab masses.

By Any Means Necessary

The 'country preacher' on abortion

By and large there has been little opposition in the Black community to the January Supreme Court ruling on abortion.

The general feeling is that the ruling gives women, Black women in particular, more control over their lives than heretofore. Increasing the control Black women can exercise over their lives and destiny benefits our struggle as a people for self-determination.

Reverend Jesse Jackson, however, disagrees.

Several weeks ago, this column dealt with the Reverend Jackson, the "country preacher," in disputing the attitude he thinks Blacks should have toward Africa. Jackson is an advocate of increasing capitalist opportunities for the exploitation of African wealth and labor.

Lest it be construed that I harbor something personal against Jackson, let me make it clear I don't. But some of his positions demand comment.

At a Chicago meeting recently, Jackson spent the bulk of his talk polemicizing against the right of women to abortion. This was a meeting hosted by Jackson's organization, Operation PUSH, along with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Welfare Rights Organization, to announce plans for the "spring offensive" against

the budget cutbacks.

Jackson's warnings on abortion are simply "Black" variations of the worn-out arguments of others who oppose abortion.

"Abortion is murder," he claims. "It is genocide." First off, the brother should understand that murder means killing a human being. Abortion is the elimination of a fetus, not a human being. Even the Supreme Court in its ruling noted that elimination of a fetus—the unborn—is not synonymous with taking human life.

He adds, "If people use preventive measures to stop the life process from originating, I can buy that. If they use pills, contraceptives, rhythm to stop it from being, I can buy that, too."

This is a contradiction. Scientifically, the female egg cell or male sperm represents life—cellular, molecular life—which lives and dies. According to his "it's alive" argument, one shouldn't do anything to affect the "life" of an egg or sperm.

Also, the brother argues that abortion is genocide. In reality, neither abortion nor safe contraceptives represent genocide to Black people. They represent the right to choose. It is forced abortions and forced sterilizations that are genocidal and things to be opposed.

Jackson argues that through abortion the govern-

ment can now control Black women. We are controlled in America all right, but the right to abortion does not amount to *more* governmental control over Black women but *less* control.

Abortion represents termination of unwanted pregnancy. Now with a woman's right to abortion, Black women can decide for themselves if and when to bear children. In the past, Black women have been forced to bear unwanted children. Luckily those days are over.

The country preacher concluded, "If you have an abortion then you don't have pity and compassion. And that's what makes a woman: pity and compassion."

Sister Florynce Kennedy anticipated Jackson's arguments in her book *Abortion Rap*. She said, "It might shock Black radicals to entertain the possibility that religious programming combined with certain of the slaver's social values, plus a soupçon of male chauvinism, account for the volume of the contention that a legalization of a woman's right to terminate an unwanted pregnancy is Black genocide."

From Jackson's "pity and compassion" statement, it appears that he has a lot more than a soupçon of male chauvinism.

Baxter Smith



Special feature on Inflation

Angry shoppers support meat boycott

By CINDY JAQUITH

"I don't think that this is the way a 'Great Society' should be. Food is not a luxury, it's a necessity," said a young woman shopper in Chicago.

But rising prices have made many foods, especially meat, "luxuries" that working people find they can no longer afford. The shopper quoted above, an office worker, told *Militant* correspondent Bruce Bloy, "I very rarely buy meat any more."

Many shoppers have begun to substitute vegetables and starches. A New York college student who was buying groceries for herself told me she was eating "an awful lot" of spaghetti and vegetables lately. A young couple said they now eat hot dogs and kidneys, instead of the meat cuts they previously bought.

Meat prices clearly hit poor people, especially Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos, the most severely. A Black man in one store in Chicago told Bloy, "I don't know if the increases here are worse than in other places, but they affect Black people more. We have a lot less money to spread

label said 'pet food—39 cents a pound.'

The shoppers interviewed by *The Militant* did not take kindly to Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz's recent comment that consumers have "been having food too cheaply in the past." They reject the idea that shoppers should have to bear the brunt of price increases, and many plan to participate in the nationwide boycott of meat set for April 1-7.

The boycott is gaining support around the country, with many women's shoppers groups taking the lead in organizing the protests.

The United Auto Workers voted March 22 to join the boycott. According to the March 27 *New York Post*, students at the High School of Art and Design in New York City have arranged to have meatless school lunches for two weeks in their cafeteria.

Talking with shoppers in New York, I found that supporters of the boycott felt the high prices were not solely the fault of the supermarkets. Many pointed the finger of blame at "big



Vancouver, Wash., shoppers protest high food prices

"The raise they want would only increase the cost of lettuce about one cent, but look at what the prices are." She said in conclusion, "Big farmers are like big business."

The outrage shoppers feel over the price of meat has already expressed itself in lower sales for some meat cuts. A Bohack store in Queens, N.Y., has seen a 40 percent drop in veal sales and a 20 percent decline in sales of higher-priced beef. Will Lissner reported in the March 24 *New York Times* that "selective buying by consumers . . . had left high-priced meat cuts piled up on meat counters." Some stores even put a few items on sale as a result.

The meat packers are already preparing for the April 1-7 boycott. A *Chicago Daily News* report on March 27 said that "packers fear the impact on their sales will worsen next week. . . . From Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, where the bulk of the nation's beef cattle are led to slaughter, reports of production off as much as 40 per cent were heard."

In an attempt to reassure angry consumers, the president of the American National Cattlemen's Association, John Trotman, held a news conference in Atlanta last week to promise (again!) that prices will fall soon. How soon, he didn't say. But he did make it clear that he hoped there wouldn't be any "unwise restrictions on the beef industry" in terms of price controls.

A glimpse of what the big packers actually have in mind was revealed in the March 24 *New York Post*. "State market watchers in Albany warn that there is a chance that meat producers are intentionally slowing down the supply chain that delivers the steak to retail markets." This would keep prices

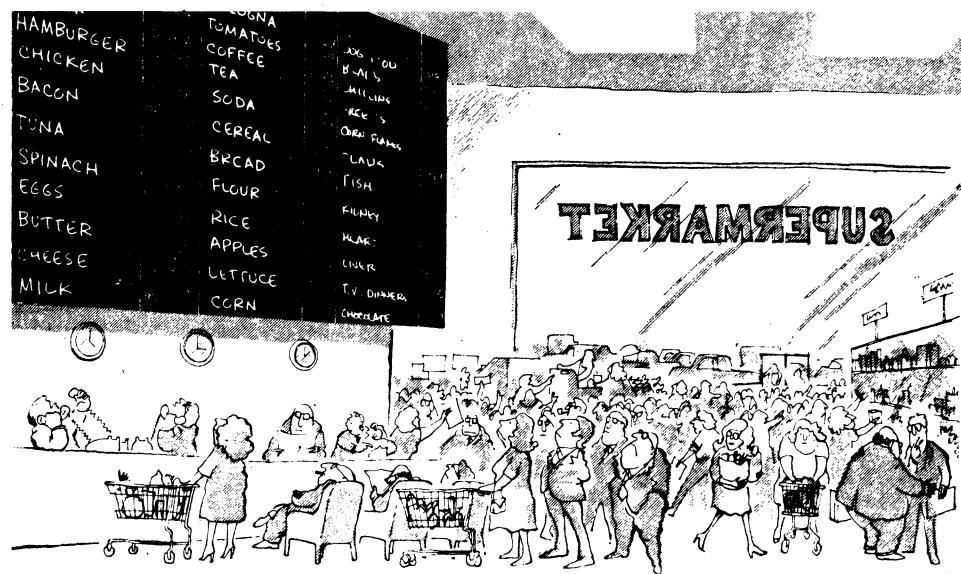
up and in fact "could balloon supermarket price tags again."

Next week's meat boycott may prove to be a dramatic indication of what will happen as prices continue to rise. While *The Militant* found that most shoppers strongly sympathized with the boycott tactic, some felt it will take a lot more to get prices lowered. For many, the meat boycott is an act of protest against the profiteering they know is going on in the food industry, and the repeated refusal of the politicians in Washington to act to halt inflation.

A Black man expressed the distrust felt by many about Nixon's professed concern over the cost of food. "I wonder whether he's really trying to hold down prices. He keeps saying that things are going to get better, but they said that for a long time about Vietnam, too."



Militant/Laura Moorhead
'Pet food' selling at 39 cents a pound displayed in Los Angeles supermarket at meat counter.



around."

Militant correspondent Ann Wilcox talked with shoppers at a grocery store in the Chicano community in Los Angeles. One Chicano told her he had previously fed his family of four on \$25 a week, but now has to spend \$40 a week. A Filipino woman with nine children said she has only \$200 a month to spend on food, and is helpless with the soaring prices.

Supermarket owners haven't been shy about encouraging poor buyers to modify their diets. Wilcox reports that at the Pioneer store she visited there was a featured item in the middle of the frozen meat section: "It looked like ground beef," she says, "but the

farmers" and everyone felt that the problem was a question of national concern.

"Supposedly with the war winding down," a Chicago woman told Bloy, "the economy was supposed to improve, but that doesn't seem to have happened."

Bloy asked a Black factory worker if he thought that unions demanding higher wages were at fault. "I had a little wage increase last year," the man answered, "but prices have gone up a lot more."

A young woman in New York also disagreed that higher wages cause higher food prices. "I read about the migrant farm workers," she told me.

A program to combat soaring prices

By LINDA JENNESS

Working people throughout the country are boiling mad over the outrageous food prices we're forced to pay. We've all experienced a sense of shock

Linda Jenness was the 1972 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

as the cash register at the supermarket checkout counter racks up higher and higher weekly totals. And we've all had to stretch our budgets tighter and tighter to meet the skyrocketing cost of food and other necessities.

Shoppers across the country are ready to take action to fight this inflation, as is indicated by the wide-

spread support for the meat boycott called for the first week in April. Many people are hoping this boycott will have some effect on prices. But more than this will be necessary to protect our standard of living against soaring prices.

Politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties keep promising action to fight inflation. But the policies of both parties have failed to solve the problem. These politicians are interested in protecting the right of the capitalists to make a profit. They don't care about the right of working people to a decent standard of living.

The top labor leaders haven't come up with a program to defend the in-

terests of union members and other workers either. They tell us to rely on the Democratic and Republican parties and the capitalist government.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers, I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, and Paul Hall of the Seafarers International are sitting on the Phase 3 "Labor Management Advisory Committee." This committee is only window dressing to give government decrees the image of fairness and impartiality. It lends credence to the myth that the capitalist government will control prices when its sole aim is to control wages.

All workers need higher living stan-

dards. Union members have common interests with unorganized workers, with the unemployed and the poverty-stricken. Workers who have jobs know they can be thrown out of work tomorrow. And they know conditions on the job get worse when a long line of jobless is waiting.

Racism and sexism are used to pit workers against each other and to keep the wages as low as possible.

Escalator clause

To defend ourselves against high prices we need wages geared to keeping up with inflation.

Phase 1, Phase 2, and Phase 3 have all shown the complete fraud of any

Continued on page 12

Special feature on inflation

By DICK ROBERTS

Economic catastrophe is striking the working people of this country. Prices—especially food prices—are rising at the fastest rate since official records have been kept.

These spiraling prices hit hardest at those who can least afford it. Women workers, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native-Americans, older people who live on fixed incomes, and young people, who have the hardest time getting jobs, are finding it increasingly difficult just to buy the necessities of life.

What is the government doing about these pressing problems? Never have

Inflation is primarily caused by the deficit spending of the government.

When the government deficit spends that means it borrows money over and above what is collected in taxes. This money is pumped into the economy, but no goods have been manufactured for sale on the market corresponding to it.

For example, the giant nuclear aircraft carrier *Enterprise* cost Washington \$451.3-million. Thus the purchase of the *Enterprise* put nearly a half billion dollars into circulation, but the *Enterprise* was not put up for sale on the market. Unless Washington also took \$451.3-million out of the economy in taxes, this money became "surplus purchasing power."

Price Index rose 17.2 percent. Every housewife knows what has happened to the price of hamburger even though she may not point the finger of guilt where it belongs, at the war."

Prices have risen even faster since Fulbright uttered these words. That is because the Nixon administration continued to deficit spend even with the deescalation of the war. And—as before—the vast majority of government expenditures go into buying arms and maintaining the global police force of U.S. imperialism. Nixon's 1974 budget raised war spending to the highest point since World War II.

The actual effect of war spending on prices and wages can be seen from

again. This is the result of the robbery in the grocery store.

The net result these last eight years, consequently, is that only for a very brief period in 1971-72 did workers obtain any advance in their real purchasing power. So much for the ruling-class lie about how higher wages cause inflation. The fact of the matter is that workers desperately need major wage increases right now just to begin to catch up.

The Nixon administration pretends its "wage and price control" policies are aimed at "stemming inflation." They have been in effect long enough to test the results.

During the first 90 days, Phase 1, American workers lost more than \$4-billion in wages, either through being denied settlements that had already been won or through prevention of the negotiation of new settlements comparable to the wage increases won in the 90 days preceding the decree. The employers were the beneficiary.

Under Phase 2, from Nov. 14, 1971, to Jan. 11, 1973, the rate of wage raises fell below the pre-freeze period. From an average increase of 8 percent in 1971, workers' wages went up only 6 percent on the average in 1972.

On Feb. 26, 1973, the Labor Department announced that first-year wage increases in major labor contracts (which are generally higher than those in succeeding years) averaged 7 percent in 1972 as compared with 11.6 percent in 1971.

These figures, representing substantial losses for American workers, apply only to those workers protected by union contracts. Those who had no unions—more than three-fourths of the work force—fared even worse.

But in the same period, from August 1971 to February 1973, the Consumer Price Index rose by more than 5 percent and the price index for food rose by more than 9 percent. The capitalist government cannot enforce price controls and it never had any intentions of doing so.

Workers' wages can easily be frozen. The contract is settled and it applies to tens, hundreds, and in many cases thousands and tens of thousands of workers at the same time. Employers willingly enforce wage control agreements.

Where would government price controls be exerted? If at the supermarket level, then what about the wholesalers to the supermarket? If at the level of car prices, then what about the steel industries who supply the auto makers? It is inconceivable that capitalists would control prices at every level of production.

Moreover, are the capitalist politicians in Washington, who owe their political careers to the businessmen and bankers who control the Democratic and Republican parties, going to turn around and tell those capitalists to hold down prices, a measure that would cut into their profits?

The main power in Nixon's Phase 3 Program is the Cost of Living Council, which retains the legal authority to roll back specific wage or price increases. It is certain that no significant measures will be taken against prices. But this board has already "suggested" limiting wage raises to 5.5 percent a year—although food prices are rising at four times that rate.

Unemployment

Those who suffer the most from inflation and are least prepared to fight against it are the unemployed and partially employed. At the close of 1972 the unemployment rate stood at about 5 percent. This means that 4,366,000 workers were out of work and looking for jobs—equivalent to the entire civilian labor force of Iowa,

Who benefits from inflation?

Why prices go up, up, & up

the rulers of this country responded to the peoples' needs with more cynicism.

Arthur Burns, head of the Federal Reserve System, said people should have meatless days. He advises us to "spend less on meat and more on cheese."

Dick Roberts is the 1973 SWP candidate for New York City controller.

President Nixon declared it would be "patriotic" for Americans to buy fish instead of meat.

Nixon's special assistant for consumer affairs, Virginia Knauer, said people should eat liver, kidneys, and brains. "I always say that cheaper cuts can be turned into a gourmet meal," she said.

Georgia Democrat Herman Talmadge arrogantly asserted in the U.S. Senate March 20 that "the cost of food is high in this country because a lot of people are eating who never used to.

"We are using \$4 billion worth of food stamps and putting meat on the table for people who never had it before.

"In addition, our society is more affluent than it ever was before."

The Dixiecrat Talmadge speaks of buying hot dogs and potatoes with food stamps as *affluence!* There is real affluence in this country, but it is known only to a few, the mighty rulers of this country who are represented in Washington by Talmadge and his fellow Democrats and Republicans.

Talmadge's speech was made as the Senate overwhelmingly passed the Economic Stabilization Act of 1973. By a vote of 85 to 2, the Senate gave President Nixon legal authority to continue the antilabor wage-control policies he initiated in August 1971. The Economic Stabilization Act contained no measure whatsoever to control prices.

What causes inflation?

The capitalist press attempts to blame high food prices on farmers. When workers seek catch-up wage increases, the same newspapers blame workers for inflation.

Soaring food prices in fact are part of the general problem of inflation, which has been eating away at paychecks since 1965—the year Lyndon Johnson began to escalate the U.S. attack on Vietnam.

In order to absorb the surplus purchasing power, monopolies raise prices. So money is pumped into the economy by government deficits and prices are raised to make extra profits. This is the main mechanism of inflation in the U.S. economy—and the big corporations that control food supplies and sources benefit from it just as much as the auto and electric trusts.

In fact, food can be produced more cheaply and in greater abundance in this country than anywhere else in the world. But food production is curtailed in the United States.

This is because food is produced for monopoly profits, not for the benefit of the people. Today food producers are taking advantage of limited food supplies not only in America but throughout the capitalist world to jack up U.S. and world food prices to unprecedented levels and to reap re-

figures that are published every month in the government's *Monthly Labor Review*. These show that between 1965 and 1972 as the war continued to escalate, *prices rose more than 32 percent.*

The devastating effect of these higher prices—along with higher taxes—on wages can be found from figures in the same magazine. Here is the average weekly purchasing power of a manufacturing worker with three dependents measured in 1967 dollars:

1965	\$102.41
1966	\$102.31
1967	\$101.26
1968	\$102.45
1969	\$101.49
1970	\$99.66
1971	\$102.78
1972	\$108.02

These figures completely refute the myth of the "Wage-Price Spiral." They



Demonstrators at supermarket in Puerto Rico on March 3, organized by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, protest inflation. Man's sign says, 'Get rid of high prices.'

cord-high profits. The inflation fuels this greedy profit bonanza.

Occasionally the truth about inflation is admitted by politicians. For example, Democratic senatorial leader J.W. Fulbright said in September 1972, "Probably the most devastating impact on the lives of everyday Americans has been from the inflation created and nurtured by the war."

"From January 1969 to June 1972," Fulbright continued, "the Consumer

show that for six years, as the war escalated, the real wages of American workers were not only frozen but declined slightly over the period. In August 1971 when Nixon imposed the Phase 1 wage freeze—wages had already been frozen for six years.

Only with the recovery from recession in 1972 did wages begin to catch up with prices. But already in December 1972 and for the first two months of 1973 real wages are declining

Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska being out of work at the same time.

On top of this the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that another 800,000 workers are "discouraged." They have given up looking for jobs.

Added to that must be the 13.7 million Americans working for substandard wages—wages below the official poverty level.

This means that nearly 19 million workers, nearly one quarter of the labor force, are actually without decent jobs.

and poverty

Grinding unemployment coupled with racist and sexist discrimination leaves millions of Americans in poverty.

According to the 1970 census, more than 3.5 million full-time wage and salary workers earn less than \$60 a week; less, in many cases, than they would get on welfare.

Two-thirds of these working poor are women. Most of them head families. How can they possibly support a family on less than \$60 a week?

According to the official figures, 25 million people live below the poverty level in the United States; that is, they live in families with incomes below \$4,137. Another 30 to 50 million live just above this level, in the \$4,000 to \$5,000 income bracket.

Nixon's 1974 budget

When money is desperately needed throughout the United States to improve social conditions, the Nixon administration is slashing social, health and welfare programs to the bone. Antipoverty organizations—child-care centers, educational and job-training programs, health and housing services, programs for helping old people—are threatened with drastic cuts if not outright liquidation.

A particularly drastic measure was implemented in East Harlem, N.Y. On March 19 the cost of day-care centers rose from \$2 a week to \$42 a week. This, when most women workers in New York average around \$110 in take-home pay. It threatened to throw thousands of working women onto welfare, or their children into the streets.

What could more clearly illustrate the priorities of the capitalist government?

While cutting back on social programs, the 1974 budget increased war spending by \$4.7-billion to \$81.1-billion for fiscal year 1974.

The second biggest item in the budget is \$24.7-billion for payment of in-



These women shoppers were part of a boycott of supermarkets in 1966 in response to a 5 percent jump in prices over six months. Boycott spread to 100 cities and included picket lines and price checking. The protests forced some stores to temporarily reduce prices.

terest on the national debt. This goes to the banks that profit from financing the government's war expenditures. The 1974 budget is expected to raise the national debt to \$365-billion.

The 1974 budget is a *deficit budget*. Even at the time it was announced, the budget included a \$12.7-billion deficit. The figure is likely to be revised steadily upwards. That means greater fuel for the inflation. It is money borrowed in order to continue to enlarge the military machine at the expense of the people.

Economic Stabilization Act'

Union bureaucrats and a number of Democratic Party politicians made noises about stopping the attack on workers by blocking or amending the Economic Stabilization Act. Trade-union officials appeared at hearings and went through the motions. A few amendments were offered on the Senate floor.

But when the act sailed through the Senate March 20 with only two votes against, it contained no amendments of any significance.

Typical was Senator George McGovern's attempt to amend the act in order to limit Nixon's power to impound federal funds. McGovern pointed out that "while workers' take-home pay remained virtually constant, corporate profits after taxes shot up 14 percent in 1971 and nearly 15 percent in 1972. Much of those gains were the result of Federal tax concessions to big business."

Yet McGovern affirmed in the very next sentence, "No one disputes the right of business to earn equitable profits." McGovern's amendment was defeated 82 to 9. When the final crucial vote on the 1973 Economic Stabilization Act came up, McGovern raised his hand for it along with all but two of his Democratic and Republican colleagues.

Are farmers to blame?

The same capitalists who attempt to blame inflation on workers' catch-up wage struggles turn around and blame farmers for high food prices. But this is just as phony as the "Wage-Price Spiral" myth.

Even according to *U.S. News & World Report*, farmers get only 33.4 cents out of every dollar spent by consumers on food. The rest, which is almost two-thirds, is swallowed up by the railroad trusts, food processors, wholesalers, retailers, and speculators.

The great mass of working farmers keep only a small part of this 33.4

cents: they have to pay rent to the land owners, interest on mortgages to the banks, and monopoly prices for the farm equipment they buy.

But, while most farmers struggle just to get by, huge "agribusiness" farms rake in huge profits. Senator Lawton Chiles of Florida revealed March 19 that three-fourths of all farm sales are now made by 19 percent of all farmers.

A more detailed breakdown can be based on the Internal Revenue Service report of income tax returns in 1968. This shows that out of three million farmers filing tax returns in that year only about 3 percent showed net profits above \$10,000. The overwhelming majority of farmers are poor—with family-sized farms, mortgaged farms, tenant farms, and sharecroppers making up the vast bulk.

According to the same tax returns, the farms with net profits above \$10,000 received almost 30 per cent of all farm profits. At the very top 135 farms reported net profits above \$100,000. Wealthy farmers like these, and there are very few, are part of the capitalist class and they are well represented in Washington.

Those who profit the most in the food business are the monopoly food processors and retail food chains. In its March survey of fourth-quarter profits in 1972, *Business Week* shows that the food industry composite showed an after-tax profit increase of 9 percent from the previous year.

Some food corporations raked up much higher increases: Allied Mills, up 332 percent; Iowa Beef Processors, up 95 percent; Federal, up 111 percent. Food can be manufactured more cheaply in the United States than anywhere else in the world. The fact that food prices are high results from monopoly control, and it yields monopoly profits.

The Nixon administration has offered a number of phony reasons for the present upsurge of food prices, from poor weather conditions to the Soviet wheat trade deal the Nixon administration itself made. All of these excuses are intended to disguise the fact that the food processing and retailing monopolies that Nixon represents are raking in windfall profits at the consumer's expense.

Record high profits

While workers face a battery of pressures on the job and mounting wage attacks and while there is massive poverty and unemployment, U.S. corporations are chalking up record

profits. *Business Week* magazine declared 1972 "A spectacular year for profits."

It declared, "U.S. business earned \$49.9-billion in 1966—a record that stood untouched for six years. But everything fell into place in 1972, and corporate profits jumped to \$52.6-billion, with fourth quarter earnings at better than a \$55-billion rate." Even higher profits are expected in 1973.

But profits do not go into the hands of working people. They go to the owners of banks and industry. In this level of American society there really is affluence.

The capitalist class

One of the myths propagated about the United States is that there is no ruling class. The industrialists and financiers of the nineteenth century were supposed to have disappeared in the twentieth century. Not true.

The same detailed reports of 1968 tax returns by the Internal Revenue Service showed that 133 million Americans, 66 percent of the population, lived in families with incomes under \$10,000.

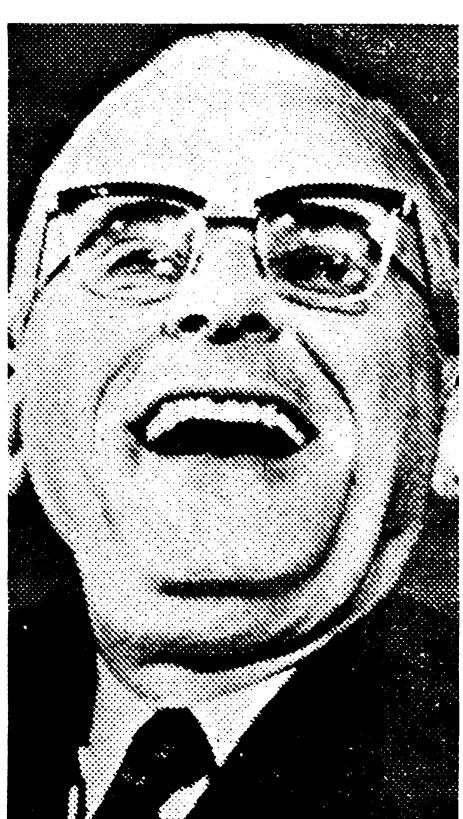
Another 43.7 million, 22 percent of the population, lived in families with incomes between \$10,000 and \$15,000.

Thus only 12 percent of the entire population had incomes above \$15,000.

Real wealth was concentrated in a tiny fraction at the very top: 303,984 Americans—less than one tenth of one per-cent of the population—had incomes above \$100,000. These families received 24 percent of the total dividend income. This is the ruling class and its highest paid servitors.

No matter whether the economy is in a slump or an upturn, or whether stock prices on Wall Street are going up or down, or whether there are millions or tens of millions of Americans on welfare rolls and in poverty—this ruling class reaps its billions in dividends year after year.

Through its immense wealth this ruling class controls the Democratic and Republican parties. A serious perspective of advancing the needs of working people must be based on opposing these twin parties of capitalist rule. The fight against inflation, unemployment, poverty, and the other oppressive evils of the capitalist system will not be carried out by capitalist parties. It can only be won through an independent struggle led by workers themselves.



Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz says American people have 'been eating too cheaply in the past.'

Special feature on inflation

...How to combat soaring prices

Continued from page 9

government pretense to control prices. Workers need cost-of-living clauses in their contracts that automatically raise wages when prices go up.

Such escalator clauses should also be included in social security and other retirement benefits, so that retired workers can have an income secure from the effects of inflation.

Some workers, including the United Auto Workers, have protection along these lines. But most cost-of-living increases have ceilings, and they are based on the Consumer Price Index. There are no ceilings on the price-gouging policies of the capitalists and consequently there should be no limits on cost-of-living protection.

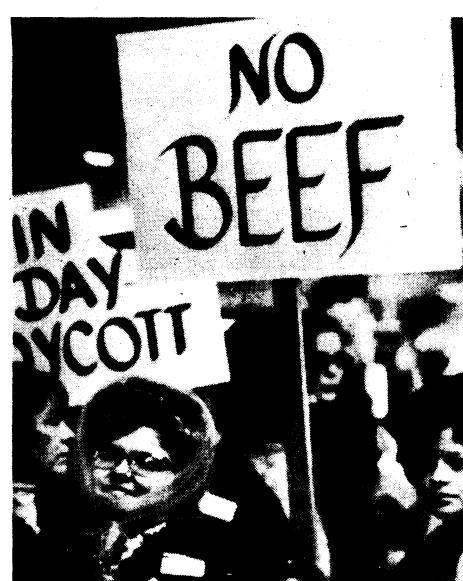
Moreover, the government's Consumer Price Index is phony. It has two big defects.

In the first place it lags far behind the actual increases in prices. Most items are only checked every three months. This means the index could often lag three months behind price jumps.

The UAW contract calls for pay adjustments every three months. Thus, for UAW workers there can be a lag of nearly six months between many price increases and compensating pay increases.

The second big defect of the index is that it is based on "quality" as well as price. If the capitalists claim their goods have improved, higher prices won't necessarily be registered in the government price index.

Take automobiles, for example. From the introduction of the 1959



models through the 1970 models, car prices increased by hundreds and thousands of dollars in that period. But the Consumer Price Index registered no increases in auto prices!

Price-watch committees

One of the things that could come out of the current shoppers' protests is the formation of committees to keep tabs on prices. In 1971, when Nixon announced his wage-control program, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) organized Operation Price-Watch. This union committee documented price hikes and exposed stores that illegally raised prices.

Such committees would be able to document the actual movement of prices on a day-by-day basis to back up union demands for wage hikes.

And, if the corporations claim they have to raise prices to "stay in business," these committees could demand to inspect the company's financial records. Then we could see what kind of profiteering is really going on.

Halt war spending

Since government deficit spending, mainly for war, is the key cause of inflation, a real program to fight in-

fation must include the demand that the U.S. government stop all war spending. We should demand the closing of all U.S. military bases, whose only function is to interfere in the affairs of other countries.

Reduce workweek

Government aid to the unemployed is totally inadequate. In fact, the Nixon administration is already making moves to "tone down" the economic expansion when there are more than five million people on the unemployed rolls.

The wages and hours law should be amended to shorten the workweek for all workers with no reduction in pay, in order to spread the available jobs to all who want to work.

In addition, all unemployed workers should be compensated at full union pay as long as they are out of work, whether or not they were previously employed.

Program of public works

The government should launch a large-scale public works program to provide jobs and make available desperately needed social services. This would make it possible to build decent schools, housing, hospitals, and other urgently needed projects.

Preferential hiring

Unemployment hits hardest at Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, and at women. They are the last to be hired, and the first fired during a down-turn in the economy. The fight against unemployment must include the demand for preferential hiring of these workers to help overcome years of discrimination and achieve real equality.

Right to strike

The right to strike is a fundamental right. Without it, workers are helpless in the face of the power of the big corporations. All laws that restrict the right to strike—such as the Taft-Hartley Act, the Railway Labor Act, and laws restricting the rights of government employees to strike—must be repealed.

Democrats and Republicans

The owners of property, their agents in the government, and many officials of the trade-union movement will say these demands are "unrealistic." But they are only unrealistic when the interests of the tiny ruling class are put before the interests of the vast majority of people who are workers.

What are the facts?

The rulers of this country have proved beyond all doubt they are incapable of solving the problems of workers. Spiraling inflation, frozen real wages, massive unemployment—these have become a permanent feature of U.S. society.

What is unrealistic is to suppose that the capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, will act in the interests of workers when they represent only the interests of the ruling class.

The labor movement does have the political power to protect workers against inflation and to end unemployment. It doesn't look that way right now because labor leaders have refused to use the real power of labor. They tell workers to elect more capitalist politicians, especially Democrats.

The Democrats and Republicans gave Nixon the right to impose wage controls. They extended that right in the U.S. Senate by a vote of 85 to 2 in the midst of the biggest price increases in recent history. And they



Militant/Tom Vernier
Members of AFL-CIO in Detroit and local antiwar groups demonstrating against Phase I in September 1971. This type of labor action is needed now to fight inflation.

will continue to act this way because they don't represent workers.

To protect their standard of living, working people need their own political instrument—a labor party based on the trade unions. This party must have the perspective of wresting control of the corporations, banks, and government from the capitalists and placing this control in the hands of the working people.

In some sections of the Southwest, Chicanos have begun to break from the two capitalist parties and construct their own political parties, the Raza Unida parties. There are discussions among Black activists about organizing a Black party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans, to fight for the interests of Black people. The labor movement also needs to defend its own interests in the political arena

and to organize its own party.

The current food price increases show that production under this system is geared solely to producing profits—not to meeting the needs of working people. The technology and resources exist to provide abundant, high-quality food at very reasonable prices. But this would not be as profitable to the food industry as the current poor-quality food sold at high prices.

But there is no reason why food production—or the production of any commodity—has to be geared to private profiteering. A workers government would expropriate the huge corporations and administer them under the control of working people. This would allow our vast resources to serve human needs instead of private profits.

Switch to dogfood?

York City."

Many shoppers have been resorting to less expensive foods, although not all of them have been reduced to dogfood or horsemeat. And none of them like it.

Last week, Virginia Knauer, the president's consumer adviser, held a news conference to tell us how to save money at the supermarket. She had such helpful ideas as using a shopping list and sticking to "cheaper cuts." (She didn't specifically mention dogfood.) Since the news conference her office has been flooded with angry letters, many of which, according to one of Knauer's assistants, are "unprintable."

At the White House, according to the Nixons' top chef, orders were issued last November to keep the First Family's food budget down. Nixon has always been a great one for the "equality of sacrifice" bit. Remember how he shared in the grief of all the families whose sons were killed in Indochina?

You can bet he feels just as bad about those of us who have had to cut down, or even give up, eating meat.

But you can bet your last—inflated—dollar that the Nixon family does all right at the dinner table. Like the rulers everywhere, capitalist politicians always seem to be able to take care of themselves first.

In fact, Nixon's probably on the phone right now, putting the bite on the dog food corporations for a little contribution to the Committee to Re-Elect the President. After all, it would only be fair.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

APRIL 6, 1973

Papadopoulos vows to crush protests

Greek students continue to challenge junta

[The following article was written before the March 20 police attack on 800 students who reoccupied the Athens University Law School. According to a report in the March 21 *New York Times*, the students "chanted slogans for democracy and against the military-backed Government of Greece, calling on the Premier to go. They also chanted slogans against the United States, whose warships spread out a banner demanding 'Out with the Americans.'"

[Onlookers, including Dutch and American journalists, were beaten by police along with the students. The number of injured is not known, although the *Times* reports witnesses claimed the police figure of 11 was too low. A woman student is said to have suffered a brain concussion.

"There was no way for us to escape," said one student interviewed by the *Times*. "We had to run the gauntlet on the stairs and the choice was either to get beaten on your backbone running away, or to get your skull smashed if you stayed."

[The Athens University Senate, composed of representatives from each faculty and the rector of the university, took responsibility for ordering the attack. It denounced the protesters as "a minority trying to deny the majority of students their unalienable right to study."]

"When a populace more concerned with soccer than with politics shouts 'Shame on the Police!'; when the moderates are becoming radicalized; when street demonstrations—practically unheard-of since the coup d'état—are becoming normal; when the indignation that the use of torture had aroused in individual hearts is finally denounced on public squares, how can one not believe that the Athens regime has just been dealt a heavy blow?" wrote Paul-Jean Franceschini in the March 7 issue of *Le Monde*.

Other signs of support for the students, who began their wave of protests in January, in Athens and Salonika, are the fact that during police assaults on demonstrators, taxi drivers have taken on students free in order to help them escape, and quite a few merchants have given them shelter in their shops. "This is important," one student told Franceschini. "Our main objective from now on will be to maintain this solidarity, which is a harbinger of a mass opposition to the regime."

Reports indicate that a majority of Greece's 80,000 students have been involved in the recent wave of strikes

and demonstrations. The protests reflect both a growing impatience and frustration after nearly six years of the military junta and an increasing feeling that it can be stood up to. "We have the feeling that this Gov-

half had their deferments lifted last week and are now in the army."

On February 23, the 2,000 students who had occupied the Athens law school for thirty hours agreed to a ten-day truce, but vowed to continue their protests if the regime did not repeal the draft decree. On March 2, Premier George Papadopoulos warned that he would crush the student protests. "The revolution is determined to secure tranquillity and public order at the cost of any sacrifice," he said. "I and my collaborators leave no margins for experiments. We shall crush any force that emerges to disturb public order and upset social tranquillity."

As the truce ended March 6, students began arriving at the law school for a protest meeting. They were met by sealed doors and a notice that the university would be closed for a week "because of carnival." Greek universities have never before closed for the carnival season, reported the *New York Times* March 7.

The ban on meetings provoked further demonstrations. Several hundred students gathered on Constitution Square, shouting slogans and blocking traffic. Thirty-seven were reportedly arrested.

had been full of pictures and stories suddenly began hardly using the word "student" at all.

The chief government spokesman, Byron Stamatopoulos, was asked why the newspapers were now ignoring the students. "The Greek newspapers are free to write, in accordance with their opinion, what they like," came the reply. "What is forbidden is to write false reports."

About 100 reporters are circulating a petition calling on the Athens Union of Journalists to save their professional reputations by explaining to readers why all news of the students has suddenly vanished.

One effect of this crackdown, Shuster reported from Athens February 28, is that George Athanasiadis, publisher of the right-wing newspaper *Vradyni*, is now "reluctantly the symbol of press freedom." His offices and home were raided when he published more details on the students than the government desired.

Among solidarity demonstrations that have been held abroad were one of several hundred in Paris February 24, organized by the Ligue Communiste et Cause du Peuple, and



Papadopoulos

ernment can't last too long now, that it can't keep it up," one student told *New York Times* correspondent Alvin Shuster February 27. "We are not saying its days are numbered, but maybe its months are."

The students' demands include release of the more than 100 students who have been drafted as punishment for participating in the protests, repeal of the special decree that withdrew their draft deferments, undergraduate participation in drafting a new law on higher education, new and democratic elections for student boards, removal of government commissioners (all ex-generals) from the schools, and removal of police informers and suspected members of the fascist youth organization "EKOS" from the campus.

One of the most sharply felt grievances is the handling of last November's student elections. They were organized by students appointed by the government and were rigged. Pro-junta candidates won almost every contest.

A bitter Athens student described the results in his school to Shuster: "At the Polytechnic, we managed to have three elections in two of the schools—topography and chemical engineering. We insisted on elected people watching over the voting. The result was that all the pro-Government people lost.

"Now what's happened to our leaders? Of 15 of the elected representatives in civil engineering, more than



Greek students occupying the Athens University law school before police attack. Signs read: 'Free our comrades!' and 'Down with the junta's decree on suspension!'

As part of its campaign to "crush" the student protests, the junta has also cracked down on the press. On February 22, it "advised" the press not to cover the protests. Newspapers that

another in New York March 3, sponsored by the United Hellenic Front, Demokratia, and the American Committee for Democracy and Freedom in Greece. □

Who's who in the Argentine elections

By Fred Halstead

A general rundown on the parties involved in the Argentine elections will be useful to readers who want to put the immediate results in context. Dozens of political parties, most of them local or regional, took part in the elections. Only nine qualified as national parties with presidential slates.

The nine range from the Nueva Fuerza (New Force) on the extreme right to the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party—PST) on the left. The two strongest parties are: the Peronist Frente Justicialista de Liberación (Liberation Front for Social Justice—FREJULI), whose power base is the trade-union bureaucracy, a section of the capitalists concerned with producing consumer goods, and some landowners in the interior; and the Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union—UCR) backed by the cattle ranchers of Buenos Aires Province and by the meat packers. In Argentina this makes the UCR the main bourgeois party. The workers, by and large, back the Peronists.

This goes back to the 40s and early 50s, when Perón was minister of labor and then president and Argentina's economy enjoyed an unusual boom. The workers won significant concessions, building one of the strongest union movements in the world in the process. When the boom ended, Perón faced economic crisis and yielded to a military coup in 1955. But the nostalgia for that period is so deep that, for example, a bright, clear day is frequently called "un dia Peronista."

FREJULI and the UCR are generally considered here to fall into the center of the political spectrum. But FREJULI contains both ultraright and ultraleft wings and was supported by most of the urban guerrilla groups.

In the center-right fall three parties: the Alianza Popular Federalista (People's Federal Alliance—APF), backed by some regional capitalists; the

Alianza Republicana Federal (Federal Republican Alliance—ARF), whose candidate for president was Izequel Martínez, an air force brigadier; and the Partido Socialista Democrático (Social Democratic Party—PSD), whose main backing is the bureaucracy of some old cooperative enterprises of the insurance, housing, and food-store variety. It is not considered part of the labor movement here and has no influence in the unions.

Considered "center-left" is the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria (People's Revolutionary Alliance—APR) whose candidates for the top offices were Oscar Alende and Horacio Sueldo. Alende is a former governor of Buenos Aires Province, and Sueldo is a leading Catholic opposed to divorce, separation of Church from state, and abortion. This is the party backed by the Communist Party, which is illegal here but operates fairly openly. The CP distributes literature in its own name and maintains a following of several thousand activists who have thrown themselves into this campaign. Alende-Sueldo, incidentally, did not campaign against the proscription of the CP. Only the PST did this.

On the left is another party besides the PST. It is the Frente Izquierda Popular (Left Popular Front—FIP), which calls itself Marxist but looks to a section of the military to make a nationalist turn on the Peruvian model. It also calls itself "left Peronist."

Most parties held windup election rallies in Buenos Aires. The FREJULI rally was by far the largest. It filled a football stadium, and thousands were turned away. Alende-Sueldo drew a crowd estimated at between 20 and 40 thousand to a stadium, while the FIP had less than 2,000 at a dull affair in a plaza.

The PST windup rally had 12,000 according to the Buenos Aires daily *Cronista Commercial*. I was there, and my own estimate was more like 7,500 at the height with perhaps 10,000 having attended at one time or another, since it went on for hours. It was a very impressive turnout for a revolutionary party. (See the March 30 *World Outlook* for a full account of this rally.)

In addition to the electoral parties, a united front of left-wing groups drew between 1,500 and 2,000 to a rally advocating voting blank. (Since voting here is compulsory, to abstain one votes blank.) Some right-wing groups also advocated voting blank, but they were not involved in this rally. □



Juan Carlos Coral, PST presidential candidate, speaking at Buenos Aires rally.

Trotskyists report encouraging gains

Argentine revolutionist discu

By Fred Halstead

Buenos Aires

MARCH 13 — The Frente Justicialista de Liberación (FREJULI—the Peronist electoral front) won a smashing victory in the elections held two days ago. With the votes of only 808 precincts out of 54,654 still to be reported, the election board gave the results as follows:

Frente Justicialista de Liberación, 5,995,943 (49%).

Unión Cívica Radical, 2,596,082 (21%).

Alianza Popular Federalista, 1,797,158 (14.7%).

Alianza Popular Revolucionaria, 870,333 (7.11%).

Alianza Republicana Federal, 332,641 (2.72%).

Nueva Fuerza, 256,106 (2.09%).

Socialista Democrático, 112,273 (0.91%).

Socialista de los Trabajadores 76,555 (0.62%).

Frente de Izquierda Popular, 61,731 (0.50%).

Besides this, 125,162 blank ballots were cast; 43,601 were voided as improperly made out; and 35,385 were challenged. The total vote was 12,288,819.

These figures were less than previously announced, the board of elections announcing that a large error had been discovered in the earlier computations.

The Unión Cívica Radical decided not to challenge the Frente Justicialista de Liberación in a second round. Thus the presidential candidates of the Peronist front, Héctor José Cámpora and Vicente Solano Lima were declared elected. In a speech broadcast nationally late in the evening of March 12, the military dictator General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse said that his regime would abide by the decision of the voters. If the military holds to this promise, Cámpora will take office May 25.

As to the meaning of the election results, I can offer the following opinions as voiced in an interview granted to me by Arturo Gómez, organizational secretary of the Trotskyist Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party).

* * *

Question. What is the significance of the Peronist vote?

Answer. It signifies a repudiation of the government by the working class and a significant part of the middle class. The working class hasn't considered any government since 1955 [when Perón was toppled from power] to have been in its interests. But the Peronists received a much higher percentage of votes in the current election than in the 1963 national and 1965 regional elections. This vote indicates, or registers, a radicalization of the middle class, a disaffection by these strata from the government. A big section of the middle class voted for the Peronist front.

Q. What about the Alende-Sueldo vote?

A. The Alende-Sueldo vote dropped considerably from that which Alende received in 1965 in running for governor of the province of Buenos Aires. It was also lower than the vote received by Sueldo's Christian Democrats. Also the Communist party did better the last time it ran in 1961. It appears that these so-called center-left forces lost a considerable part of their traditional supporters to parties further to the right. On the other hand, they picked up some votes from the more radicalized sectors of the middle class.

Q. What is the significance of the PST vote?

A. We have had no previous electoral experience that we could use as a basis for comparison. But considering where we were a year ago, there is no doubt that we gained among sectors of the workers vanguard and among the youth, that is, among those who have broken with all the bourgeois options, especially Peronism.

In absolute numbers we made some modest gains that cut into the Peronist movement. These were class votes, working-class votes. It is clear also that a significant number of Peronist workers split their ticket, voting FREJULI for the presidential slate, and for the PST for lesser offices, such as deputy. The great majority of the workers, of course, did not cast a class vote, but voted for FREJULI. But in my opinion this was less a vote for Peronism than a vote against the present government. The PST was the only party on the left that increased its ranks in this period.

Q. What will happen if the Peronists actually take power?

A. First, regarding the "if." It seems reasonably clear from what Lanusse said last night that the armed forces will accept the experiment of a Peronist government. I think we are entering a period similar to that in Chile with a populist, nationalist, bourgeois government.

But there are certain important differences from the situation in Chile that make things more complex here. First, the great weight of the Argentine working class and its very high level of union organization. Second, the absence in Argentina of a mass working-class party. Unlike Chile, there is no mass Communist or Socialist party here. The Argentine workers are still caught up in a bourgeois party, Peronism.

But there is no doubt that the workers now expect things to change in their favor.

Q. Do you think that this will lead to an immediate period of upsurge in the workers' struggles, or the opposite—an immediate period of lull as the workers wait, expecting the new government to solve the problems they face?

A. In the short term this is guess-work. It is very difficult to say what

sses Peronist victory

the pace of developments will be in the immediate future. But in the long run, the upsurge will continue, since the elections do not eliminate the crisis that forced the military to opt for an electoral maneuver. Remember, they didn't do it because the achievement of stability permitted them to relax. They did it precisely because the situation became increasingly unstable under the old regime.

Probably in the coming year, even though the Peronists got more votes than ever, the crisis of Peronism will deepen because its influence among the workers will become more and more undermined. In the past seventeen years, while it was proscribed, the

ing overwhelmingly for the Peronists, as the union bureaucrats had told them to do.

Our comrade answered by pointing out that the situation that had caused the strike had not changed and that the union shouldn't have any confidence in the government with respect to solving the problems of the workers.

One of the fired workers, a Peronist, took the floor to say that he believed the workers had won a victory in the election, but that now things could not be left as they were; they must be changed completely. He accused the bureaucrat of being as bad as the Ministry of Labor. Instead of telling the workers to hold tough in their strike as the only way to win, the bureaucrat had told them to have confidence in the government. The assembly took a vote. It was against the bureaucrats. And they decided overwhelmingly to stay out on strike.

Our party will accompany the masses as they go through this experience, and we are in a much better position to do this because of the gains we made during the election campaign.

Q. What did the PST actually gain in its campaign?

A. First, we came out of it with a national party that is now well known, that has cadres and branches throughout the country in the major centers as well as many minor ones.

Second, we tightened our ties with the workers through our campaign activities. We now have more members in all the major centers of anti-bureaucratic struggles in the unions to continue the work already begun, such as the Chocón construction workers' struggle in Neuquén, the SOMISA occupation, the SITRAC-SITRAM in Córdoba, among the bank workers, at Chrysler, etc. Leaders of all these struggles, and many more, were candidates of the Workers Front and Socialist Pole.

Third, we were able to increase the circulation of our paper, *Avanzada Socialista*, from 8,000 at the start of the campaign to 25,000 on the eve of the elections.

Fourth, we began the campaign last year with ten local headquarters. Now we have seventy.

Fifth, of those who applied for membership in the PST during the campaign, we have accepted 1,500 as probationary members.

Q. What will happen now with the Workers Front?

A. The perspective of the Workers Front is to continue to participate in the struggles of the workers and to help give an impulse to the mobilizations of the working class. The Workers Front began as an electoral opportunity for workers who wanted to use the PST ballot status to run for office. But it was more than that, since these workers are leaders of the anti-boss and anti-bureaucratic struggles. Some workers who voted Peronist are now joining the Workers Front as an instrument in the class struggle. We will encourage this. □



Campora

incapacity of Peronism to satisfy the elementary needs of the masses could not be demonstrated. The masses will continue to struggle as before, but now they will confront a Peronist government.

For example, the week before the election, the workers at the Citroen auto plant here in Buenos Aires went on strike because twelve union activists were fired. A sector of the activists in the plant are Peronists; and some of those who were fired are Peronists. Now, they have talked with one of our comrades about sending a delegation to see Cámpora [the president-elect]. This proposal will be taken up at the next assembly of the strikers. It is an example of how important sectors of the workers who voted for FREJULI are already making demands on the incoming government.

Yesterday, that is, the day after the elections, the Citroen workers held a meeting in which the union bureaucrats proposed suspending the strike while waiting for the Ministry of Labor to rule in favor of the workers. At the same time, one of the top bureaucrats of the national union attacked our comrade, saying that the voters had repudiated the PST and its troublemakers in the plants by vot-

World news notes

Iranian students reported killed by police

At least four students were killed at the University of Tabriz in Iran following a "pitched battle" with police, reported Djavad Alamir in the March 8 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. Some sources put at six the number of students killed in the fierce police repression of student protests, which have been going on for several weeks throughout the country.

The student strike in Tabriz, the capital of the northern province of Azerbaijan, followed police attacks on students involved in a series of strikes in universities in Teheran and Khuzistan. The Tabriz strike also came a few days after the regime announced the purchase of \$2-billion worth of arms from the U.S.

"In view of their refusal to leave the premises, the police are said to have charged the students. The latter, however, put up a ferocious resistance to the police assaults," according to Alamir. It was in the ensuing clashes that the students were killed.

The police repression in Tabriz sparked strikes at the polytechnic and medical schools at Arya-Mehr University, where a large number of students were arrested.

Iranian authorities deny any students have been killed. According to a report in the March 10 *Le Monde*, they claim they were only carrying out "identity checks" in certain schools.

Student protests in Santo Domingo

Fifteen students were arrested March 22 and at least four hurt when police in Santo Domingo moved to break up student demonstrations demanding the reopening of the State University.

The State University, which has 23,000 students, was closed Feb. 5 following the official announcement that a group of guerrillas had landed on the southern coast of the Dominican Republic.

The government has used the supposed guerrilla invasion as a pretext to declare martial law and arrest at least 1,500 political opponents.

Chiang arrests ten at universities

Although the regime of Chiang Kai-shek has refused to recognize the People's Republic of China, it seems others in Taiwan don't feel the same way. Government officials there recently announced that small secret organizations sympathetic to Maoism were uncovered on two university campuses in February.

Arrested were five students from Cheng Kung Provincial University in Tainan, and two students, two faculty members, and a recent graduate from National Taiwan University in Taipei. The faculty members were released after 24 hours and the students, after four or five days.

This unusual leniency shown to people "with sizable collections of Communist books," provoked speculation in the March 16 *New York Times* that the charges may have been fabricated as a warning to potential supporters of the reunification of Taiwan with China.

'Unwholesome excitement' not tolerated

Not content with outlawing political dissent, the Kremlin bureaucracy is now trying to ban certain sports and games that it finds "hostile to our society" or "socially harmful." In January the Soviet government sports committee ruled that women shouldn't play soccer, which is popular among women in the southern parts of the Soviet Union.

"It is the conclusion of scientific and medical experts that soccer damages female organs," declared the committee. In addition they found that soccer "provokes unwholesome excitement" in women!

The sports committee also banned organized bridge, yoga, and karate.

Caracas rally backs socialist candidate

An overflow crowd of more than 1,000 packed the Bolívar Theater in Caracas March 2 during an election campaign rally for José Vincente Rangel, the independent Marxist candidate of the MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism) in the presidential election scheduled in Venezuela for December.

The meeting was organized by the Frente Socialista de Unidad Proletaria (Socialist Front of Proletarian Unity). This is an alliance, consolidated last February, between the Comités de Independientes Por El Socialismo (CIPES—Committees of Independents for Socialism), which includes many young people who participated in the guerrilla struggles during the sixties, and the Grupo Trotskista Venezolano (GTV—Venezuelan Trotskyist Group).

The main speakers at the rally were Astrid Fischer for the CIPES, Alfonso Ramírez for *Voz Marxista*, the GTV paper, and José Vincente Rangel.

The national struggle in Quebec and the Parti Québécois

[The following was excerpted from "An Open Letter to the Left Wing of the Parti Québécois," published in the March issue of *Libération*, the monthly newspaper that reflects the views of the Trotskyist Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière in Québec. Copies of the open letter were passed out at the Parti Québécois convention held February 23-25. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

By Alain Beiner

Like the previous conventions of the Parti Québécois since its formation in 1969, the fourth convention is turning up division, this time between the "participationist" wing and the "electoralist" wing.

At the heart of this debate is not any particular question, such as the PQ's opposition to French unilingualism, its opposition to trade-union struggles, or its refusal to mobilize its ranks to struggle for independence. What is involved, rather, are general questions of "orientation" or "political practice." In the view of the "participationist" wing, the PQ risks losing its support among the youth and the working class and becoming "bourgeoisified" if it does not turn the party's resources to more "militant" ends, such as politically educating its members and intervening in daily struggles.

The leading wing feels that the party has to avoid any kind of "radicalism" and continue to function along "traditional" lines so as not to disturb "public opinion" during the coming general elections.

The left still thinks it can change the PQ because it does not understand the true nature of the party, which is rooted in its origins, its leadership, and its program. The PQ is not a valid instrument created by the workers or by other oppressed people in order to advance their interests.

The PQ was created by former government ministers, deputy ministers, and other technocrats from the top state bureaucracy—in short, by those who drew up antilabor policies (Parizeau and Lévesque) and traitorous pacts with the federal government (Morin). The bourgeois character of the PQ is thus deeply rooted in its very origins.

The liberation that we all want will be the work only of the oppressed themselves, completely independent of the oppressors. No "infiltration," no "coup d'état," and no misplaced hopes can turn a bourgeois party into its opposite.

The illusions of the PQ left wing are based on false theories, furnished by, among others, Pierre Vallières.

According to Pierre Vallières, the "imperialist mode of production" has been imposed "upon the Québécois collectivity as a whole." Since we are all in the same boat, that is, victims of national oppression, why not unite during an early stage to defeat the common enemy?

While it is true that all social classes in Québec to one degree or another suffer from foreign domination, it is also true that this domination was originally established, and has subsequently been maintained, with the complicity of "leading Québécois citizens" who foster the illusion that Québec belongs to us.

One might be able to conceive of unity among all classes in an anti-imperialist struggle—if there were no Québécois police to club us in demonstrations against Trudeau; if there were no Drapeau to cancel the national festival; if there were no Jean-Jacques Bertrand to adopt laws like Law 63, or no Bourassa to call on the Canadian army!

While the "national" bourgeoisie sees itself increasingly put in a bind by Anglo-Canadian and American imperialism, and less and less able to compete with it for the Québec market, this has not brought it to the point of breaking with imperialism or of becoming a partisan of liberation, for it is entirely dependent upon imperialism in order to maintain its power over the working masses and to divide the spoils.

Rather than confront the power of imperialism, which would compel it to rely on mobilizing the Québécois masses, the Québécois bourgeoisie makes further attacks on the workers and others who are oppressed in order to make them pay the costs of the imperialist yoke.

This theory of "stages" is very widespread in the left wing of the PQ. Starting out with a mechanical and nonhistorical conception of the relationship between the struggle for national emancipation and the struggle for socialism, Vallières concludes that the PQ is the vehicle for at least the "first stage" of the process, that is, of the national "stage."

The struggle for national emancipation in Québec cannot be reduced to the PQ's half-hearted plan for formal independence. The national problem will not be eliminated short of the establishment of a truly independent state with French as the national language both on the job and in school, and with an economy that is free of foreign control—in other words, short of the consistent expulsion of every vestige of imperialism.

While such a program could have been carried out under a capitalist regime during the last century or the one before it, the historical development of capitalism on a world scale since the beginning of this century makes it no longer possible to achieve the goal of national struggles without overturning capitalist property relations themselves.

How many are the positive examples (the workers states in Cuba and North Vietnam) and negative examples (the Thieu puppet regime in South Vietnam, the "independent" Irish republic, "anti-imperialist" Bolivia, etc.) that unquestionably prove that in the epoch of imperialism a national liberation struggle cannot be victorious without a mass struggle led by the working class and resulting in the establishment of a workers state—a state that simultaneously drives imperialism out and forcibly proceeds to overthrow "national" capitalism and to build socialism.

It is in this sense that the anti-imperialist "stage" cannot be separated from the anticapitalist "stage," for in Québec, as in any other oppressed nation, the national struggle and the struggle for socialism are completely intertwined and constitute two aspects of the same program for social revolution.

The weakest thesis of Vallières and the left wing of the PQ is the one that depicts left-wing groups outside the PQ as devoting themselves to "ideological ping-pong" instead of becoming involved in "positive" action, and as disregarding Québécois reality by ignoring "our situation of national alienation."

Those on the left like Charles Gagnon and the Maoists, who denounce the national struggle and want to reduce the struggle for socialism to an "ideological struggle," are not genuine revolutionists and do not understand the ABC of Marxism. But the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, in spite of its meager material and human resources, has initiated more militant street actions for national rights than the PQ, which devotes itself entirely to playing parliamentarian "ping-pong" and frantically opposing very positive mass actions.

For the LSO, it is precisely the central importance of the national question in the class struggle in Québec, the importance of independence and the French language to the workers, and the positive role of national consciousness in the development of socialist consciousness that make it imperative today for socialists to build a mass revolutionary party capable of taking the national struggle in hand and leading the working class to power at the head of all the oppressed.

Only such a perspective of the working class building a socialist society can guarantee the Québécois masses that their oppression and exploitation

will be eliminated—provided that the workers equip themselves with this vanguard party that can point the path to power, while clarifying its goals at every step. It is with this approach that the LSO participates in any struggle of the oppressed against whatever oppression they may face. It does this armed with a program that joins the immediate demands of these struggles (national struggle, struggles of workers, feminists, students, etc.) to transitional demands that propel the masses toward the destruction of bourgeois power and the taking of state power by the working class.

The way this programmatic method is applied can be seen in the LSO's approach to the working masses who are presently in the PQ. On the one hand, it does not adapt to the inadequate level of consciousness of these



Alain Beiner speaking at Quebec rally.

masses, and on the other hand, it cannot wait until these masses are ready as a bloc to join the revolutionary party, given the fact that the LSO remains a very small organization.

In order to counter the support of the workers for the PQ in a realistic fashion, the LSO's program raises the need for the working class and the unions to break with all bourgeois parties and create their own independent political organization responsible to no one but themselves. In order to make this concept of class political action more concrete and understandable, and in order to apply it to the only mass workers' organizations that exist, the LSO calls on the trade unions to launch a labor party.

Trade-union militants and socialists must quit the bourgeois PQ and withdraw all political confidence from it. They must point the way for the PQ masses instead of following behind them. This is all the more necessary in that a broad layer of the PQ's left wing has an indispensable role to play in building the revolutionary party in Québec, a task that has already been begun by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. □



The Coming Confrontation

Where is Allende taking Chile? When the chips are down, where will the military stand? What are the organizations of the workers, peasants, and the left doing? What are their programs? What are the perspectives facing the Chilean people?

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Letter from a reader

Are socialists wrong to support abortion rights?

The following are excerpts from a letter The Militant received in response to Evelyn Reed's article "Why the Catholic Church hierarchy opposes women's right to abortion." Reed's article was in our Feb. 16 issue. The letter was unsigned.

Evelyn Reed's recent article on abortion certainly reiterates the standard arguments propounded by the women's liberation movement, and the prevailing views of the American bourgeoisie.

A strong case could be made that a great many socialists have "bought" an essentially capitalistic perspective on this troublesome issue in at least two respects. First, by treating any aspect of the process of human life as something less than a being with the rights of humanity, one is objectifying persons in a way very close to the treatment of workers simply as commodities, to be bought and discarded at will (or convenience) by capitalists.

Second, much of the liturgical language of women's liberation on this issue seems to betray an egocentric, almost absolutist individualism which typifies the capitalist mentality but which may be of doubtful validity from the standpoint of socialism.

Humanistic socialism has always seemed to imply, by way of contrast, a recognition of wider social responsibilities and the development of more effective life support systems in a myriad of guises: universal medical care, child care and education, political and economic systems, a broader access to culture.

About birth control there is no argument, but about abortion one could argue that it represents a major indictment of capitalism—and of socialism contaminated by bourgeois notions.

Reed replies

The assertion of this reader that either socialists or feminists have "bought" the capitalist perspective on abortion is contrary to the facts. They have fought against the capitalist stand up-held by both the state and the Catholic



Militant/Sally Feingold

have maimed and killed hundreds of thousands of women.

The language of the women's liberation movement is not "liturgical," but militant. It is the pope, the cardinals and priests, and lawyers like Robert Byrn—all self-appointed "guardians" of the uteruses of women—who apply their liturgical language to the abortion issue. Courageous Catholic women are fighting against their hypocrisy about respect for the "right to life."

As Sister Gloria Fitzgerald, a nun of 20 years, put it: "They talked about the life for the unborn but showed a negligible amount of concern for the right to life of the born, whether in Vietnam or in this country."

The "humanistic socialism" this reader expresses is intolerably one-sided. To say so much about the "life" of a fetus and virtually nothing about the lives of the women who bear them is neither humane nor socialistic. To condemn women to uncontrolled pregnancies and births differs in only one respect from the so-called right-to-lifers who do the same thing. They are buttressed by religious dogma, whereas this reader tries to make us feel guilty both as women and as socialists for claiming we have the right to control our own bodies.

The essence of both arguments against abortion is the same: women must not be allowed to escape from male domination over their bodies, their minds, their lives. In the reader's case, the argument is concealed behind the claim that abortion "dehumanizes" prenatal life. According to the biological and medical sciences, it is impossible to dehumanize a fetus, which in early pregnancy is only a germination of cells that has not yet attained a human state. As a feminist and a socialist, I reject the proposition that a piece of tissue has more rights than a woman.

Women are not animals or objects to be manipulated because they possess a uterus. So long as our contraceptive methods remain deficient—or are withheld from women as they still are in many states—unwanted pregnancies will continue to occur. Women will then resort to abortion, the one sure method of birth control.

Genuine socialists, female or male, all you can have now. Socialists must



Evelyn Reed

Church, which have for so long denied women the right to control their own contraceptives, and then say: this is all you can have now. Socialists must

not the least of which was "walking away from such control; above in the valley of the shadow of death" all, safe, legal abortions. to get back-alley abortions, which Evelyn Reed

N.Y. mothers, children occupy day-care office

By MARTHA HARRIS

NEW YORK, March 26—Angrily denouncing Nixon's attacks on the right to child care, about 2,000 men, women, and children, mostly Black and Puerto Rican, demonstrated today in front of the Federal Building here.

The action, called by the Committee for Community Controlled Day Care at a meeting of 600 five days ago, focused on parents' refusal to submit to "eligibility" investigations by the federal government. These investigations are to assure that no one with an income of more than \$5,400 for a family of four has children enrolled in a public child-care center.

Parents now using these centers must fill out forms requiring their social security numbers, an affidavit from a college if a parent says he or she is a student, and other information. There is also a statement on the application that must be signed, vouching for the accuracy of all facts. In an obvious attempt to intimidate parents, the statement warns that falsification may be punished with a fine or imprisonment.

At today's demonstration, placards in Spanish were as abundant as those in English. Some read "Day care is our right," "Queremos day care—ahora!" and "1984 forms—we won't comply."

After about an hour of vigorous marching and chanting, the crowd moved to occupy the offices of the Agency for Child Development (ACD), three blocks away, and to meet with Georgia McMurray, commissioner of day care. She appeared late in the afternoon, but offered no substantial support for the struggle to retain day-care services. In fact, she threatened to cut off funds in April from any center that does not file eligibility reports.

The workers at the ACD building, although surprised to have the four

floors of offices suddenly occupied, were nonetheless friendly and for the most part receptive to the children and their escorts.

One woman demonstrator told me she felt that day care is in danger of becoming a custodial function. "Nixon claims the American family structure is being jeopardized because mothers are not home with their families," she said. "But this is just his way to get women out of the job market."

Asked how to best defeat Nixon's move, she replied, "By fighting this in an organized and united way. Right now we're not well organized and we need to change that situation."

It was the opinion of some that the presence of so many children prevented the police from interfering with the demonstration, especially as it spilled over into the ACD offices. However, at about 5 p.m., while the protest was in the process of dispersing, some 50 people were hauled into a police van and taken to jail. They were released immediately, however, on grounds that their arrest was an "error."

Day-care funds for New York centers now depend on whether the centers submit the new forms. Without the information requested, no funds are to be allocated.

"The government chokes us with these forms, because they think day-care users are cheats," one woman said. "And, in reality, it's the other way around. But they have no forms to fill out."

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, was among the demonstrators. Asked his opinion of the day-care issue, he replied, "Certainly Nixon has no concern for the welfare of human beings if he has to chop day care out of the budget as an 'economy' measure, yet can cough up \$81-billion for military appropriations."



New York mothers occupy Agency for Child Development offices

Militant/Arthur Hughes

Chicago rally demands 'day care, not welfare'

By DAN SHALIT

CHICAGO, March 17—More than 750 people, mostly parents, demonstrated at the Civic Center here March 14 to protest the Nixon administration's cutbacks in funds for child care. Perhaps as many as one fourth of the demonstrators were children, who contributed to the lively spirit of the rally.

The rally was organized by Parents of KIDS (Keep Illinois Day-Care Subsidies) and the Day-Care Crisis Council. Mayor Richard Daley even issued an official proclamation declaring March 14 "Day Care Crisis Day" and sent one of his aides to the rally.

Most of the speakers' remarks centered on the need for day care to allow working parents to keep their jobs and stay off welfare. The most

common sign read "No Day Care Means Welfare."

Speakers included Reverend Willie Barrows, national director for Direct Action of Operation PUSH, and Sol Brandzel, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and manager of the union's Chicago joint board.

Reverend Barrows pointed to the responsibility of the federal government when she said: ". . . \$1.8-billion is not enough when we have so-called 'ended the war' with \$80-billion for defense." She also called for support to the upcoming April 4 actions against Nixon's cutbacks. Operation PUSH, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the National Welfare Rights Organization, and other groups are organizing the protests.

Where Monthly Review goes wrong in analyzing Viet pact

By CAROLINE LUND

The March issue of *Monthly Review*, which calls itself "an independent socialist magazine," contains the editors' analysis of the Vietnam accords. They side with those radicals in this country who hail the settlement as a virtually unqualified victory for the liberation forces and a historic defeat for Washington.

In past issues, *The Militant* has explained in detail what is wrong with this general view, as it has been expressed by the Communist Party and the *Guardian* newspaper. The *Monthly Review* editorial contains reasoning that further clarifies the dangerous logic of this position.

In the eyes of the *Monthly Review* editors the Vietnamese liberation struggle has been on a constant up-swing since the powerful rebel offensive last spring. "By the end of the summer of 1972 the Vietnamese liberation forces were in a basic position of strength . . .," says their editorial on Vietnam in the February issue. "Under these conditions Hanoi and the PRG [Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam] could afford to modify their long-standing peace terms," which insisted that Thieu be removed from power as part of any cease-fire agreement.

By this convoluted reasoning, *Monthly Review* asks us to believe that this important concession was made from a position of strength. But since when have major concessions been made "from a position of strength"?

What *Monthly Review* does is to magnify the strengths of the Vietnamese struggle while studiously ignoring or minimizing all those forces arrayed against that struggle. They cor-



U.S. has continued its intervention in Vietnam through support of Thieu.

rectly point to the tenacity and heroism of the Vietnamese, which has forced the United States rulers to settle for less than they aimed for—a complete military victory over the liberation forces. But the *Monthly Review* editors leave out the rest of the picture.

They leave out any recognition of the horrible punishment the Vietnamese people have taken for the past seven years from the greatest military power on earth.

They leave out the fact that between the spring offensive and the announcement of the October draft cease-fire agreement, the Vietnamese faced six months of intense bombing.

And they totally ignore—thus cover up—the betrayal of the Vietnamese struggle by both the Moscow and Peking regimes. The only thing they have to say about Nixon's detente with Moscow and Peking is that it has had no "demonstrable relation to the course of the war in Vietnam."

How then do they explain the fact



Vietnam accords have not brought peace and, contrary to *Monthly Review*, danger of a new U.S. military escalation is still very real.

that in May 1972 Nixon felt confident enough to mine the harbors of North Vietnam—a move U.S. rulers had previously rejected because they judged it could provoke a response from the Soviet Union and China? Can anyone believe Nixon's trip to China just before this new aggression, and to Moscow right afterward, really had "no demonstrable relation to the course of the war"?

Imagine, for example, the effect of Nixon's trips on the morale of the Vietnamese liberation fighters who picked up leaflets dropped by U.S. planes showing Nixon and Brezhnev clinking champagne glasses only weeks after Nixon announced the new bombing and mining of North Vietnam!

The thrust of *Monthly Review*'s position is to let Moscow and Peking off the hook. The implication clearly is that their aid wasn't needed anyway because the Vietnamese revolution was dealing with the U.S. from "a basic position of strength."

The *MR* editors also ignore the conditions in the accords that are unfavorable to the Vietnamese liberation struggle. They ignore the forms of U.S. aggression that are legitimized by the pact—for instance, the right of the U.S. to continue maintaining and resupplying the Thieu dictatorship, and the right of the U.S. to maintain its bases in Thailand and bombers off the coast of Vietnam.

They don't explain how these conditions are designed to stop the social revolution going on in Vietnam. They don't explain that in order to continue their struggle for freedom, the Vietnamese people cannot rely on a program of "national reconciliation and concord" because the Thieu regime will not allow a workers and peasants government to come to power by peaceful means.

The dangerous logic of *Monthly Review*'s position becomes clear when we come to its conclusion about what the Vietnam accords mean for the future. The editorial says: "For all these reasons, the danger of U.S. re-involvement, while not nonexistent, seems as of now to be rather remote."

There are two errors here. First of all, how can we speak of "re-involve-

ment" when the U.S. has never ended its involvement? The U.S. remains as firmly committed to preserving the Thieu dictatorship as ever.

Second, as anyone who has been reading the newspapers in the last few weeks can see, the danger of direct U.S. military intervention in Vietnam is not "remote" but very real. Can anyone doubt that if the Thieu regime should be weakened to the point of collapse Nixon would be willing to repeat his terror bombings of last Christmas?

In fact Nixon has warned the North Vietnamese that he will renew the bombing if the Vietnamese don't stop the so-called infiltration of their own country.

The course of events in South Vietnam since the "cease-fire" was signed has weakened the illusions held by many people that it would lead to real peace and an end to U.S. involvement. *Monthly Review* is itself forced to recognize this when it says: "Those on the U.S. Left—and we include ourselves among them—who have tended to assume that American withdrawal from Vietnam will be followed by the more or less rapid disintegration of the Saigon regime had better not let our hopes run away with us."

Yet in spite of what has happened, *Monthly Review* insists that renewed direct military intervention by the U.S. "hardly seems likely."

This position would lead the anti-war movement to the false conclusion that there is no more need for such a movement.

The way to aid the Vietnamese struggle is not to hide behind an exaggeration of the strengths of the Vietnamese. It is to tell the full truth of the situation—both their triumph in forcing the U.S. to stop the bombing and withdraw troops, as well as the obstacles placed in the path of their revolution by the Paris accords and the U.S.-backed Thieu dictatorship.

It is to tell the truth about the aggressive aims of American imperialism and how these objectives are embodied in the accords. It is to explain the need for the antiwar movement to oppose any violation of Vietnam's right to self-determination and to continue to press for total withdrawal of all U.S. aid, bases, etc., from Southeast Asia.

The job of socialists is also to tell the truth about the criminal policies of the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies for turning their backs on the Vietnamese. *Monthly Review*, to the contrary, covers up for this blatant betrayal of international socialist solidarity.

The Meaning of the Vietnam Accords

by Barry Sheppard and Dick Roberts

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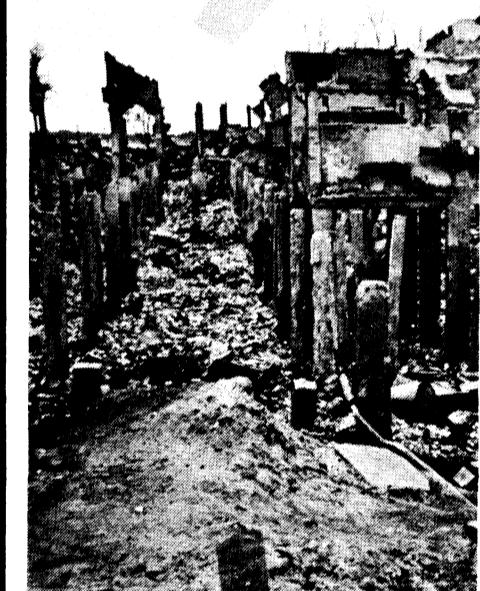
Cambodia devastated by U.S. bombing

By ALLEN MYERS

Two months after the signing of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement, U.S. air attacks in Cambodia have reached a new peak of intensity. Descriptions of the bombing in the bourgeois press recall earlier accounts of the massive raids that for years devastated North and South Vietnam.

Writing from Phnom Penh in the March 19 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Elizabeth Becker reported: ". . . the US Command has dramatically increased tactical air raids over Cambodia. Government troops are countering the present communist offensive with saturation bombing missions by American fighters. The result is that devastation of the countryside and the movement of refugees have reached unprecedented proportions."

Becker provided a graphic description of some of the destruction vis-



Cambodian town razed by U.S. bombs

ited on the southeastern region of the country by this saturation bombing:

"Villages barely scarred in three years of conflict were leveled. Rice paddies bordering strategic highways were charred and pockmarked."

"The fighting continues to plague these densely populated regions and the tactical air support has become more lethal. Refugees are pouring into Phnom Penh, leaving their homes in the lush Mekong River region to escape the raids."

The current bombing offensive recalls other infamous aspects of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, such as destroying towns in order to "save" them. Becker reported that Banam, a village north of Neak Luong, had been recaptured by Lon Nol's troops February 28 after massive bombings. She described the town as "deserted and in ruins. Its factories and markets were obliterated by US napalm and bombs. Banam had been captured and recaptured previously in the war, with little damage to the town; this reoccupation destroyed it."

U.S. military officers have provided no details on the number of raids in Cambodia, but almost daily dispatches describe the attacks as "heavy" and involving the use of giant B-52 bombers, which carry up to thirty tons of bombs.

'Civilian experts' to replace U.S. troops

Nixon aims new blows at Vietnam rebels

MARCH 27 — The U.S. government agreed yesterday to go ahead with the withdrawal of remaining U.S. combat forces in South Vietnam by March 29 in exchange for the release of remaining American prisoners of war from North Vietnam and nine from Laos.

Only three days before the March 28 deadline set by the Paris accords for the withdrawal of U.S. troops, Nixon had suspended withdrawals indefinitely in an attempt to extract further concessions from the Vietnamese liberation forces. Washington had demanded of the North Vietnamese and Provisional Revolutionary Government "a complete list of all U.S. P.O.W.'s including those held by the Pathet Lao, as well as the date, time and place of release."

This was the first time since the signing of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement that Nixon had demanded the Vietnamese arrange the release of the nine U.S. prisoners held in Laos.

A PRG spokesman immediately rejected this demand, pointing out that it constituted "a most serious violation of the Paris agreement and its protocols."

After a series of secret meetings U.S. officials held with representatives of North Vietnam and of the Pathet Lao, the Laotian rebels agreed to release the U.S. prisoners. In their statement announcing this decision, the Pathet Lao charged the U.S. with repeated violations of the Feb. 21 Laos cease-fire agreement.

"The U.S. and the Vientiane side have repeatedly used aircraft, including B-52s . . . to raid and reconnoiter the liberated areas under the control of the patriotic forces," the statement asserted. It went on to charge that "U.S. aircraft have also dropped commandos for sabotaging activities in the liberated zone and provided support for the Vientiane army during nibbling operations against the lib-

erated areas."

The Vietnam agreement of course contains no mention of U.S. prisoners in Laos. In the hope of obscuring this embarrassing detail, the Nixon administration immediately began claiming that there had been a "private understanding" between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho that Hanoi would see to the release of prisoners held by the Pathet Lao. The North Vietnamese deny this claim.

Nixon carefully refrained from calling attention to the real agreement on the release of prisoners in Laos. This is the Laotian cease-fire signed February 21.

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This section of an ad from a San Francisco paper shows U.S. is not leaving Vietnam to the Vietnamese

That agreement called for the release of all prisoners within sixty days of the formation of a provisional coalition government. Negotiations over the composition of that government have made no progress, however. Therefore Nixon is demanding of the North Vietnamese and PRG that they improve his bargaining position in Laos by securing the release of American prisoners there. A Vietnamese refusal, he must hope, can be sold to the U.S. public as sufficient pretext for keeping troops in South Vietnam.

Washington's outrage over this demand, and its cynical manipulation of the remaining prisoners—coming on the heels of Nixon's March 15 threat to resume the bombing of North Vietnam—indicate how little U.S. imperialism intends to allow the cease-fire agreement to interfere with its counterrevolutionary goals in South Vietnam. And if any additional evidence were needed, it was provided

While Washington was loudly complaining of alleged violations of the cease-fire by the liberation forces, Anderson reported that the Pentagon was recruiting 20,000 "civilian experts" to replace "military advisers" withdrawn under the terms of the Paris agreement.

"Most of the new advisers," Anderson wrote, "will be recruited from the armed forces but will go to Saigon as employees of such corporations as ITT, Sperry-Rand, Lear-Siegler, Northrop and NHA, Inc. Some advisers, however, will actually remain on the Pentagon payroll" (emphasis added).

"A Navy memo explains," Anderson continued, ". . . that civilians are being recruited to assist in winding down the U.S. involvement in South Vietnam"—as if sending more Americans will somehow decrease the 'involvement.'

"The Navy's idea of 'winding down'

the U.S. role, according to the memo, is to recruit civilians to assist the Vietnamese to run their Navy, handle their military supplies and equip their warships. . . .

"An Air Force memo appeals for civilian volunteers to go to Vietnam as 'ammunition' experts, 'military personnel' managers and aircraft specialists."

It should be emphasized that these violations of the cease-fire agreement are only the beginning of a new counterrevolutionary offensive in South Vietnam. Nixon has in no way abandoned the goal of maintaining a puppet regime securely in power in Saigon. Administration officials are admitting this with surprising candor, as Dana Adams Schmidt reported in a Washington dispatch printed in the March 23 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"The highest level of officials at the Pentagon is defining a post-Vietnam United States strategy in the Pacific that is anchored by three main points:

"First, a revised but still strong United States presence in the Pacific; second, a strong and stable South Vietnam; and third, increased conventional strengths of friendly countries in the area such as Japan, Indonesia, and Australia. . . .

"The second anchor of American strategy, a stable Vietnam, has already been underwritten by the massive 'Vietnamization' program which has aimed to make South Vietnam a military force of major importance in Southeast Asia, Pentagon sources say. The U.S. military is counting on South Vietnam as its most reliable partner in the area."

South Vietnam can be neither "stable" nor "reliable" for U.S. imperialism without the smashing of the liberation forces. It is to be hoped that this fact is as clear to the Vietnamese fighters and their supporters around the world as it is to Richard Nixon.

Antiwar groups join to protest Thieu visit

In many areas of the country, the various sections of the antiwar movement have come together to build united protest actions on the occasion of the upcoming visit by Saigon's President Thieu to the U.S.

The call for national antiwar actions to coincide with Thieu's visit came out of the Feb. 24 joint steering committee meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee. NPAC and SMC are building the actions around the demands "U.S. out of Southeast Asia now," "End all support to Thieu," and "No U.S.-imposed regimes."

In Minneapolis a picket line is being sponsored by the Peace Action Coalition, People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), the New American Movement, and the Coalition to Free South Vietnam Political Prisoners. The action planned in Chicago also has the support of both the Peace Action Coalition and the Chicago Peace Council (local affiliate of PCPJ).

In Philadelphia a No Support for Thieu Coalition has been formed to build the protest. It includes SANE, Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Peace Action Coalition, and Philadelphia Resistance.

Student Mobilization Committee chapters throughout the country are

building the anti-Thieu actions on the campuses and in high schools.

A New York protest was called by NPAC for April 5. NPAC approached the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, the New York affiliate of PCPJ, to join in sponsoring the action but it refused. Instead, the Parade Committee later called its own anti-Thieu action for April 4. The theme of this action will be "Subsidize America, not Thieu's concentration camps."

The NPAC-initiated New York action on April 5 has been endorsed by the Greenwich Village Peace Center, the Cleaners and Dyers Joint Board (AFL-CIO), State Senator Car-

ol Bellamy; and State Assemblyman Franz Leichter; among others.

Here are the times and places of the picket lines and rallies planned in some of the major cities:

Atlanta — April 5, 5-7 p.m., at the Federal Information Building, 275 Peachtree St.

Austin — April 3, noon, at the West Mall, University of Texas.

Boston — April 5, 4 to 6 p.m., at JFK Plaza.

Chicago — April 5, 4 to 6 p.m., at the Federal Building.

Denver — April 5, 6 p.m., at the Federal Building.

Detroit — April 5, 4 to 6 p.m., at the Federal Building.

Los Angeles — March 31, 6 p.m., at the Beverly Hilton Hotel.

Minneapolis — April 5, noon to 1 p.m., at the Old Federal Building.

Philadelphia — April 5, 11:30 a.m. to 1 p.m. at the Federal Building and 4:30 to 6 p.m. at the east side of City Hall.

Portland — April 2, 11:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., at the Pioneer Post Office.

San Diego — April 2, noon, at Horton Plaza, 5th and Broadway.

San Francisco — April 2, noon, at the Federal Building.

Seattle — April 3, 4:30 to 5:30 p.m., at the Federal Court House.

Washington, D.C. — April 5, 4:30 p.m. at the White House and rally at 6 p.m. in Lafayette Park.



NPAC picket at White House in February

Int'l antiwar organizing

Antiwar organizing is continuing in other countries against continued U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia. According to the March 25 *New York Times*, 2,500 people from more than a dozen German cities demonstrated in Frankfurt March 24, demanding the cessation of U.S. bombing of Cambodia.

On March 10, more than 200 people met for a regional antiwar conference in Yorkshire, England. According to Suzi Weissman, organizing secretary of the Yorkshire Indochina Solidarity Conference, the gathering was sponsored by more than 100 organizations and individuals in the region, including union shop stewards, local trades councils, student unions, third world groups, women's groups, gay groups, and socialist organizations.

The conference voted overwhelmingly to begin building the national Indochina Solidarity Committee demonstration planned for London May 5 around the theme "Solidarity Till Final Victory."

After electing 'socialism,' a moment of truth

The fruits of coalition politics in Berkeley

By FRANK BOEHM

BERKELEY, Calif.—Two years ago the revolution was to have begun—at least in Berkeley.

In the April 1971 city council elections, some radical community activists united with liberal Democrats to form the April Coalition. It ran four candidates for the Berkeley city council and elected three of them. In addition, Warren Widener, a Black Democrat, was elected mayor by the vote of April Coalition supporters, and it was assumed he would bloc with the three Coalition council members.

With such prospects, enthusiasm ran high among April Coalition supporters. Many believed fundamental change would be achieved in Berkeley and that this would provide a "how-to" example for radicals throughout the country.

A local radical publication, the *Berkeley Tribe*, proclaimed: "It is impossible to predict how far we can go in electing socialism in Amerika."

Perhaps not unsymbolically, the *Tribe* has since folded.

It is now election time in Berkeley again and the April Coalition is in trouble.

Internally, its ranks are divided. Externally, it faces a united slate put together by "regular" Democrats and Republicans. On the city council, its fortunes are at a low ebb.

Led by Mayor Widener, the Republicans and machine Democrats put together a Civic Unity slate designed to compete effectively with the April Coalition in a situation where University of California students and faculty members constitute a strong liberal voting bloc.

The Civic Unity slate includes two incumbents, Susan Hone, a sophisticated Democrat from the prosperous Berkeley Hills area, and Wilmont Sweeney, a Black Democrat. Sweeney was originally elected to the council with the blessings of the Democratic Black Caucus and Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums.

To compete for the campus vote, the slate includes Joseph Garrett, 24, a former UC student, and Henry Ramsey, a Black UC law professor. Ramsey is a former aide to Dellums.

To demonstrate the seriousness of this united effort, Tom McLaren, a conservative Republican member of the council, declined to seek reelection.

The decision of the Berkeley machine Democrats to bloc with the Republicans against the liberal Democrats who dominate the April Coalition reflects the moves by the top Democratic Party brass nationally to

purge the McGovern forces from positions of power within the party.

One indication of this is that the local Social Democrats USA (formerly, the Socialist Party) is backing the Civic Unity slate against the April Coalition. Nationally, the Social Democrats are among the most vociferous in demanding the ouster of the allegedly radical McGovernites from Democratic Party positions.

While its conservative opponents are effectively uniting, the April Coalition is more divided than ever.

The April Coalition has been compelled to repudiate two of the three people it elected to the council in 1971. Since their election, D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons have been "doing their own thing," refusing to consider views within the Black community that they claim to represent, or to collaborate in any way with the April Coalition, which elected them.

Ilona Hancock, the third member elected to the city council by the April Coalition, was originally regarded as a model of the "new politics." Since the election, she has moved steadily to the right, intent on proving by her wheeling and dealing that it really is possible to "work within the system."

In terms of the internal politics of the April Coalition, she has emerged as a principal spokesperson for the Democratic Party wing in its move to cut down the "ideologues." The April Coalition Democrats have proved quite effective in their capacity to isolate their radical collaborators.

It is instructive to examine some of the aspects of the faction fight within the April Coalition as it prepared to nominate a slate for the present elections.

At the beginning of the year, a convention was held to decide on program. Illustrative of their understanding of the reality that in capitalist political campaigns "program" is so much vote-getting rhetoric, the Democrats didn't bother turning out. The "ideologues" dominated a meeting of 300 and wrote their own platform for the elections.

It seeks to address itself to all issues and favors good things for everybody. Like the "program" adopted in 1971, it is destined to remain on paper; the candidates of the April Coalition are not committed to it and don't take it seriously.

While the Democratic Party largely ignored the "program" convention, they were much more businesslike about a Feb. 4 gathering organized to select the Coalition's slate. For that

meeting, 1,200 people turned out. It is generally agreed that the Democrats had at least a two-to-one majority and were extremely well organized.

They had a substantial steamroller going. It included staff aides of Congressman Dellums, University of Cal-

to the socialist wing." He said many of the independents were confused by the decision to shunt them aside within the coalition and to keep them in by giving them the one slot on the ticket.

He said the outcome of the nominating convention left many radicals



Joyful supporters celebrate 1971 victory of April Coalition. The *Berkeley Tribe* expressed their mood: 'It is impossible to predict how far we can go in electing socialism in Amerika.'

fornia Young Democrats, former McGovern staff members, Hancock's staff, and others.

After a floor fight on a series of procedural matters, it was clear where the power lay. It was a moment of truth for the "ideologues." They had to face the fact that the Democrats in the Coalition were going to decide the slate, including whether the "radicals" would have representation on it. After a good deal of anguished soul-searching, they decided that "practicality" dictated they live with that reality.

There was a disagreement among the Democrats too. Some wanted to exclude the "radicals" from the slate altogether, and, in effect, boot them out of the Coalition.

More judicious heads prevailed. Hancock argued it was necessary to give the "radicals" representation on the slate to assure they would help bring out the vote come election day. Her view carried.

The resulting ticket, decided on by the Democratic machine and accepted by the "ideologues" — included three Democrats and one "radical."

The three are: Margot Dashiell, of the Democratic Party's Berkeley Black Caucus; Ying Kelley, a McGovern delegate to the Democratic convention; and Peter Birdsall, a campus Democratic Party activist.

A place on the ticket was given to Lenny Goldberg. Goldberg was an aide to Hancock. He is a self-styled "revolutionary socialist" and a registered Democrat.

Some of the "ideologues" seemed determined to make the best of a bad deal and are campaigning for what is essentially a Democratic Party slate.

Others are confused. Recently, the Militant Labor Forum sponsored a discussion on the question between Carl Finamore of the Socialist Workers Party and Nick Rabkin, an activist in the radical wing of the April Coalition and member of NAM, the New American Movement.

Rabkin said he saw Lenny Goldberg's inclusion in the April Coalition slate as "a bone that was tossed from the liberal wing of the coalition

unsure of their commitment to the April Coalition or the extent to which they would campaign for it.

It is pathetic to watch some of those who are sticking to the April Coalition, even when its true character as one more Democratic vote-catching device is quite plain to see.

Among them are people who consider themselves revolutionaries but are so blinded by their hostility to a genuinely revolutionary force like the Socialist Workers Party that they are ready to line up with political representatives of the capitalist rulers.

For example, among the supporters of the April Coalition is a longtime Berkeley activist, Dan Siegel. In the Feb. 14 issue of the community paper *Grass Roots*, he wrote a scurrilous diatribe against the Socialist Workers Party, red-baiting it for its role within the antiwar movement and berating it for refusing to support the April Coalition in the elections.

Siegel writes: "Unfortunately those of us on the left who oppose its [the Socialist Workers Party] politics have not been able to organize an effective alternative to it."

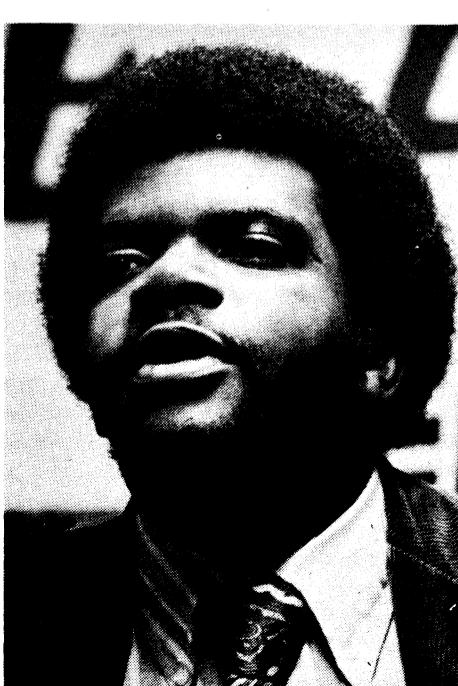
"Our failure to do this has left the radical movement without the power our numbers should give us and forces us always to make the unhappy choice between tailing after the liberal wing of the Democratic Party or accepting the ludicrous leadership of groups like the SWP."

Siegel doesn't explain what he deems to be "ludicrous" about the politics of the SWP, but even if he did, he would be hard pressed to explain how that justifies supporting capitalist politicians.

In 1971, the SWP was virtually the only force that refused to be party to the political disaster that was built into the April Coalition. It presented a meaningful socialist alternative in the election. And it is doing so again this year.

Its candidates are serious, qualified revolutionary activists. Ken Milner, 25, is a builder of the African Liberation Support Committee and a national committee member of the Young

Continued on page 22



Ken Milner



Kathryn Pon

Olga Rodriguez interviewed

Portrait of socialist mayoral candidate

The following are major excerpts from an interview with Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles in the April 3 elections. The interview was obtained by J. Neal Ronald and originally appeared in the March 4 Claremont Collegian. Rodriguez, who is a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, will begin a national speaking tour for the YSA following her election campaign.

Could you give us a few biographical details?

I was raised in Brownsville, Texas, which is known in this country as a border town; the overwhelming majority of the people in the city are Chicano. I went to school at the University of Houston, where I belonged to the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO). There I became interested in other political issues and became exposed to the Young Socialist Alliance and felt that its program on Chicano liberation and antiwar work were for me.

I have also been active in the women's liberation movement. In addition I was the coordinator of La Raza contingent in the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration in San Francisco, where over half a million people were involved.

What kind of family do you come from?

I come from a family of thirteen and my father is a carpenter, and as you can well imagine, the work is pretty seasonal. My mother does not work, which would be pretty difficult with thirteen kids and no day-care centers.

Did you grow up with a lot of resentment, being in a white-dominated culture?

The thing that was the most disturbing to me occurred when I attended a small, private parochial school, which I had to work my way through. The bulk of the women in that school were Spanish-speaking, and one of the policies and jobs of the student government was to fink on students who spoke Spanish.

On the campus the rule was that if you were caught speaking Spanish twice you were suspended for three days, and if you were caught twice after that you could be expelled, with no recourse.

It disturbed me that my cultural identity was always squashed. It was only during the recent upsurge of nationalism that we Chicanos again began to study our culture and to bring it to the fore.

Did you have a lot of so-called mafados in Brownsville?

The so-called illegal aliens, or "wetbacks" as some racists refer to them? Yes, I grew up in a city that was right on the border. The most vicious police agency in the city was the Border Patrol, an arm of the Immigration and Naturalization Service there. It was primarily an Anglo force and they functioned almost with impunity.

One of the earliest recollections I have on this score was of my aunt. I remember when my cousin and I were five years old, we would often have to hide her from the Immigration authorities. This was something that I could never understand, why we had to hide Maria because she didn't have her paper. So when the antideportation movement came along, I immediately identified with that.

workers are used and terribly exploited.

And I was very much against the war when I was in Brownsville; I remember the thing that brought it home was when my brother-in-law was blown to pieces in Vietnam when he stepped on an American mine. My brother and another Chicano friend were the only men in their company who were sent to Vietnam; all the others went to Germany—that drove it home even more.

As a Marxist, I don't imagine that you're very religious, but what kind of influence did the church have in your town?

It had a tremendous influence. Up until my second year in college, I went to Catholic schools and I remem-

ber having deep-seated reservations about the role of the church in social change. I broke with the church a full year and a half before I became political, mostly on principled grounds, the role the church played with the poor people in my city.

I did not agree with the church's position on birth control; one reason is because my mother had to bear thirteen children and her health was not the best for it. She was always a very hard-core Catholic, but she has since changed her position.

Women's liberation appealed to me because I had always wanted to become a lawyer, but was talked out of it when I was in high school. Ever since I was a freshman in high school I had to work at secretarial jobs. I earned 75 cents an hour working at a hospital as a PBX operator. I used to run business machines, even after I got my degree—that was all I could get.

Considering your party's support of Chicano nationalism in general and



Daily Bruin/Dennis Fried

Five of the 13 candidates for mayor of Los Angeles at UCLA forum (from left to right): Joel Wachs, Olga Rodriguez, Tom Bradley, Tom Reddin, and Malbour Watson.

Was there ever much social resistance either in your town or in your school before you left for the university?

In my city, some of the "city fathers," Mexican-Americans who originally had a great deal of wealth, ran the city with an iron fist. Social movements were few and far between. The newspaper was the local pool of reaction. Although there are obviously different ways in which nationalist sentiment could be expressed, there was no conscious movement at the time.

That has changed a great deal since I left; there is now La Raza Unida Party in Brownsville. There is also antiwar sentiment; at the local junior college there was a mini-explosion on the campus during the May 1970 upsurge.

But the earliest experience I had with a social movement when I was in Brownsville was around the question of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC). In the Rio Grande Valley where I lived, there are huge citrus groves and farm

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Considering your party's support of Chicano nationalism in general and

goes for the Black community.

What is your response to those leftists specifically in the Communist Party, who aver that the best strategy is to support the most progressive candidate who has the most favorable chance for electoral success? Let's say that it appears that it's going to be a close race between Tom Reddin and Joel Wachs; why wouldn't you support Wachs as the more progressive? A general point has to be made here. The problems of Los Angeles are not the problems of one single person in office. As socialists, we do not say, "Support us as the better individuals." Individuals are not going to change the city of Los Angeles.

Anything which has been "progressive," any piece of legislation which has been a boon to the masses of people has been won—not because some legislature or politician said that they were going to do it for us; it was because we had to fight every inch of the way to get any change that has been significant for us.

the *Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters* speech.

"The Communist Party supported the Soviet invasions of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 to crush the struggles there for socialist democracy. And it supports the deal between Nixon and Brezhnev to defeat the Vietnamese revolution."

Rodriguez appealed in the open letter for support to her campaign and that of the other SWP candidates "as the working-class socialist alternatives to the capitalists."

"The issue is whether you will support the candidates of another tendency within the working class or cross class lines to support capitalist candidates of the Democrats and Republicans—the twin parties of war, racism, sexism, exploitation and oppression."

L.A. SWP calls for vote for CP candidate

LOS ANGELES—The Socialist Workers Party is urging a vote for William Taylor, Communist Party candidate for L.A. controller, in the April 3 municipal elections.

Taylor is the only CP candidate running, although the main race is for mayor, and there are also city council and board of education seats up. The CP decided not to run for mayor to avoid running against Thomas Bradley, a Black Democratic city councilman who was for many years a ranking L.A. cop. Bradley is running on a "law and order" program that is virtually indistinguishable from those of the other capitalist candidates in the race.

In an open letter to the CP, the Young Workers Liberation League, and other supporters of Taylor, SWP

mayoral candidate Olga Rodriguez explains that the SWP favors a vote for Taylor to help further the idea of independent working-class political action against the Democrats and the Republicans. Since Taylor is running as a Communist Party member against the Democrats and Republicans, a vote for him will be a repudiation of the capitalist candidates.

Rodriguez said the SWP was calling for a vote for Taylor "despite the reformist program of the Communist Party."

"The record of class collaboration of the Communist Party," she said, "is well known: supporting capitalist politicians for president, such as Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964, Humphrey in '68, and McGovern in '72 as [CP leader] Gus Hall himself admits in

Communist Party mum on 20th anniv. of Stalin's death

By DAVE FRANKEL

"Humanity has lost the greatest man of our time."

"His name and his work will endure through the ages." "Humanity's march upward has been assured by men like Joseph Stalin."

Such was the evaluation the *Daily Worker*, the newspaper of the Communist Party at that time, made immediately following the death of Stalin 20 years ago. This tyrant was praised as the "beloved and revered teacher, leader and guide to millions of working people around the globe."

The national committee of the U.S. Communist Party insisted that "in spite of the vile slanders and abuses against this great and just man of the people . . . Joseph Stalin was the best loved man on earth, enshrined in the hearts of the people everywhere, to whose well-being his life was selflessly devoted."

Yet on the twentieth anniversary of the death of "the world-historic leader," the *Daily Worker* couldn't find a single word to mark the occasion with. The silence of Stalin's former idolaters seems particularly ironic in view of the extensive coverage given to the anniversary by newspapers such as the *New York Times*. However, the CP's embarrassment is not hard to explain. These latter-day Stalinists would rather not be too closely identified with Stalin's crimes, even though, with the exception of a few "excesses," they still support what Stalin did.

Above all, the CP remains fully committed to Stalin's substitution of the theory and program of "building socialism in one country" for the Leninist approach of building a worldwide revolutionary socialist movement.

Leon Trotsky called Stalin "the gravedigger of revolutions," an epithet that was well earned. Stalin's insistence that the Chinese Communist Party remain inside the Kuomintang, the party of Chiang Kai-shek, was the main cause of the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1925-1927. Under his leadership, the German Communist Party refused to join with the social democrats (whom they called "social fascists") to block Hitler's rise to power.

Following this debacle, Stalin came up with a new theory, one that was implied in his original proposal to build a self-sufficient "socialism in one country" in the Soviet Union. In the words of the 1953 *Daily Worker*, "He was the architect of the great doctrine of the peaceful coexistence of differing social systems . . ."

Under the banner of the "popular front" Stalin called upon the Spanish workers and peasants to limit their struggle against Franco to support of a democratic republic, as opposed to a socialist revolution. His murder squads systematically eliminated those revolutionary leaders who advocated the taking of land by the peasants, factories by the workers, and the establishment of a workers government.

This Stalinist policy succeeded in curbing the mass movement. In strangling the Spanish revolution that began in 1931 and broke into open civil war in 1936, Stalin destroyed the possibility of victory over Franco, opening the way to the second world war.

In his eagerness to achieve a "collective security" pact with France, Great Britain, and the U.S. against Germany, Stalin was also willing to sell out the workers in these capitalist countries. In the face of a revolutionary upsurge, the Stalinist leaders of the French Communist Party supported a capitalist government—the popular front of 1936—in order to stabilize the situation. The same approach was used at the end of the war when the leader of the French Stalinists, Maurice Thorez, served as vice-premier in a capitalist government. He supported the French drive to reconquer Indochina by voting for military appropriations to carry out the war against the Indochinese peoples.

Following Stalin's orders, the CPUSA gave complete support to Roosevelt and the war effort of Washington, even proposing "no-strike" pledges in the unions. The CPUSA even went so far in its "moratorium" on class-struggle activities as to dissolve itself during the war. The Communist International itself was disbanded by Stalin as a concession to his imperialist allies.

Stalin met in Yalta and Potsdam with his partners in the wartime alliance. Together with Churchill and Roosevelt, he divided the world into spheres of influence. When the class struggle in Greece flared up into civil war, and Britain intervened to maintain capitalism, Stalin sealed off the supply of arms to the Greek workers from Eastern Europe.

Tied to the Stalinists' criminal policies in the international arena were their equally counterrevolutionary policies within the Soviet Union. The gravedigger of revolutions began by destroying democracy within the Bolshevik Party. The expulsion of revolutionists was soon followed by the infamous purge trials of the 1930s. The entire leadership of the Russian revolution perished in those

purges, with the exception of Trotsky, who was later killed by one of Stalin's assassins.

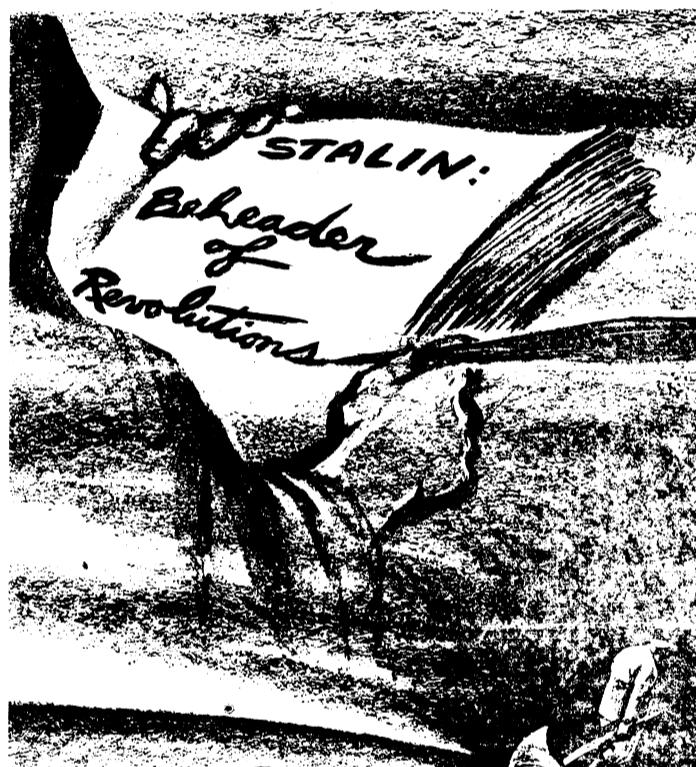
But the terror didn't stop with the old leaders. Khrushchev revealed in his secret speech to the twentieth congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956 that "mass arrests and deportations of many thousands of people, execution without trial and without normal investigation created conditions of insecurity, fear, and even desperation."

Khrushchev reported that 70 percent of the members and candidates elected to the party central committee in 1934 were arrested and shot, and of 1,966 delegates to the seventeenth congress of the Soviet Communist Party, 1,108 were arrested for counterrevolutionary activity. ". . . when the cases of some of these so-called 'spies' and ' saboteurs' were examined, it was found that all their cases were fabricated. Confessions of guilt of many arrested and charged with enemy activity were gained with the help of cruel and inhuman tortures."

Khrushchev also described other injustices that revolutionary socialists had been denouncing for decades. Among these was the deportation of whole nationalities during World War II. Khrushchev also pointed to Stalin's misleadership in that war, which resulted in literally millions of unnecessary Soviet deaths.

Not mentioned by Khrushchev were things such as the

The Judgment of History



This Laura Gray drawing appeared in the March 16, 1953, *Militant*.

forced labor camps, which held two to three million inmates, according to conservative estimates. Estimates of eight to 12 million are frequent, and some run even higher.

Just as the *Daily Worker* insisted in 1953 that "it was Stalin who had done so much to create Socialist democracy in the USSR," so Khrushchev insisted that the crimes were all Stalin's fault.

But the reality is that Stalin represented a privileged layer in Soviet society, which included party functionaries, factory and collective farm managers, government bureaucrats, and others. His policies of subordinating the interests of the world revolution to whatever course seemed to promise immediate stability for the Soviet Union was based on the narrow, conservative interests of this bureaucracy, not on the interests of the masses within the Soviet Union. Stalin's dictatorship protected the social and economic inequality promoted by the rapacious bureaucracy.

The resistance and opposition to Stalin's rule caused his successors, such as Khrushchev, to denounce the "cult of the individual," and to criticize Stalin as an individual while preserving Stalinism. More recently, the Kremlin's official judgment of Stalin has become more "balanced," partially rehabilitating him.

An examination of the roots of Stalinism would be fatal for the Kremlin, since it would expose the entire Soviet bureaucracy.

And the apologists for the Kremlin who run the CP in this country would prefer that Joseph Stalin, "the valiant champion of peace, implacable foe of fascism, resolute builder of socialism," remain in the background for now. But if the Soviet bureaucracy undertakes the full rehabilitation of Stalin, we can be sure the Stalinist leaders of the CPUSA will follow suit.

Detroit students fight for control of 'South End'

DETROIT — Students here at Wayne State University are fighting for control of the campus newspaper, the *South End*, in the face of administration attacks.

For the last five years the *South End*, which has supported the Black and women's liberation movements, and the antiwar movement, has been financed by the Student-Faculty Council and been under its control. Besides extensive coverage of liberation struggles around the world, the paper has carried articles against tuition hikes and in support of university workers' demands.

Recently, the administration seized on a series of *South End* articles attacking Zionism to launch a full-scale assault on the right of free speech. One of the articles included a cartoon of a swastika superimposed on a Star of David. Although the editors explained the cartoon was meant simply to illustrate the similarity in methods between the state of Israel and the Nazis, the incidents provoked an outcry from Zionist students. The administration took this opportunity to charge the *South End* with "anti-Semitism."

In response to this charge more than 50 campus and community organizations formed the South End Defense Committee. Groups joining the defense campaign included the Association of Black Students, Organization of Arab Students, Monteith and Law School student boards, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, and Wolverine Bar.

More than 100 Wayne faculty members signed a petition in support of the newspaper's rights, and 10 Black state legislators endorsed the defense committee, as did U.S. Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.). The local B'nai B'rith chapter issued a statement saying it did not consider the *South End*'s articles anti-Semitic.

Although 300 students held a *South End* defense rally Feb. 8, the university's board of governors went ahead the next day to give President George Gullen power to appoint members of the Student Newspaper Publications Board.

After Gullen made his first appointment, the Student-Faculty Council condemned his action, announcing it would continue to finance the *South End* on the basis of the old publications board. On March 15 the council voted to begin legal proceedings against Gullen.

The council is also organizing a student referendum on who should control the *South End*. The referendum is slated to take place in a few weeks.

"We are demanding Gullen keep his hands off the *South End*," said Lee Artz, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and chairman of the Referendum Committee. "Students should have the right to vote on who runs the *South End* and how."

The Militant interviews Babak Zahraie

U.S. gov't attacks Iranian student's rights

By DAVE FRANKEL

I recently spoke with Babak Zahraie, a 22-year-old Iranian student. Zahraie was in New York on a national speaking tour to win support for his fight against the U.S. government's attempts to deport him.

Before asking him about his case, I tried to get some more general information on the political activity of Iranian students. About 7,000 Iranian citizens are currently studying in the U.S. on student visas, although the total number of Iranian students here is probably much higher.

"It's a paradoxical situation," Zahraie said. "All around the world you hear about struggles for freedom and self-determination, but there is one country where things appear very quiet: Iran. Then you get outside of Iran, all over Europe and the United States, and of the citizens from all the countries where liberation struggles are going on, the Iranian students are the most outspoken."

The reason for the apparent quiet inside Iran is the severe repression under the rule of the Shah'in'Shah (King of Kings) Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. In the last two years 68 people have been officially condemned to death and executed. That's an average of one almost every 10 days. And many executions are carried out secretly.

"One Iranian student who has been keeping track says there's been an average of one execution every three days for the last several months," Zahraie explained.

The activity of the Iranian student movement abroad has been highly embarrassing to the Shah. "The Shah doesn't make any more trips to West Germany," he pointed out. (In June 1967 the Shah visited West Berlin. Iranian and German students demonstrating against him were attacked by Iranian secret police agents and West German police. One student, Benno Ohnesorg, was shot and killed. His funeral turned into a demonstration of 20,000 people.)

"You don't get very much information on what is going on in Iran from the establishment press. The government of Iran is a product of the CIA coup d'état of 1953," he explained.



Babak Zahraie

"Since then a lot of the students have stood up for the democratic rights of the Iranian people—organizing teach-ins, defending the political prisoners in Iran, and exposing the tortures and executions used against dissidents."

This activity has been noted in Iran. "Three years ago," Zahraie says, "they passed a law that any Iranian student who speaks against the government of Iran while abroad is subject to three to 10 years in jail."

"The government is willing to go thousands of miles beyond its borders, and keep watch on Iranian students



This 1969 demonstration of Iranian students against the shah ...

Militant/Joe Aber



... was brutally attacked by New York cops shortly after it began.

Militant/Joe Aber

and what they are saying, and then have them classified as subject to prison and torture when they come back. That gives you a good idea of the extent of the repression inside of Iran.

"The government claims—and it seems that they are very proud of this—that they have a secret police force of 70,000," Zahraie said. Since about 70 percent of Iran's 30 million people live in small peasant villages, this amounts to a secret police agent for every 130 people in Iran's cities.

"That just shows how much support the regime has among the people," he declared. In the week before our interview at least four student demonstrators in Northern Iran were shot by police.

Zahraie was a high school student when he came to the U.S. in 1967. He attributes his political activism to the development of the radicalization in the U.S.

He began to get involved in political activity in 1969 when he transferred to the University of Washington at Seattle. Along with his brother, Siamak, he was active in the antiwar movement, in the defense of Iranian political prisoners, and in a movement against tuition increases. In 1971 he was elected president of the Iranian Student Association at the University of Washington, and also president of the Foreign Student Council, whose newspaper he edited.

On Feb. 9, 1972, he had his first experience with the harassment and intimidation the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) practices against foreign students. "They just walked into my house—at 7:30 in the morning—a couple of their agents; and they said, 'Let's go to the Immigration office.'

"They were searching through my books and so on. I asked them if they had a search warrant and an arrest warrant. They said they didn't."

"I told them, 'I'm not going to come if you don't have it.'

"They said, 'Then we're going to carry you.'

"They were pretty big; so they took me down. That was my first experience."

Zahraie stressed the fact that this

type of intimidation goes on all the time. He mentioned the case of the 41 Iranian students the government is trying to deport (see box), and another incident, in which an Iranian student in Texas was deported in just four days.

"In Kansas City, when they said they were going to screen Arabs in the U.S. after the Munich events, they rounded up all the Arab students at 7:30 in the morning, brought them to Immigration, and fingerprinted them. Just to intimidate them."

A month after the visit by the Immigration officers, Zahraie was ordered deported by the Seattle office of the INS. The INS claimed he was a "subversive," that he was not a genuine student, and that he had failed to have a proper form with him during a one-day trip to Canada in November 1971.

Immediately after his arrest by INS agents, Zahraie began to gather support from student organizations and faculty members at the University of Washington. They set up the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, which later extended its activities to a nationwide scale.

As a result of this pressure, the

Defense set for 41 Iranians

In June 1970, 41 Iranian students went to the Iranian consulate in San Francisco to protest recent political arrests in Iran and the torture of political prisoners. They demanded a press conference with the Shah's sister, Princess Ashraf, who was arriving in San Francisco. (At that time Ashraf was the head of the United Nations Human Rights Commission.)

The students were arrested by San Francisco police on the orders of the Iranian consul general. After being roughed up they were arrested and jailed on a series of phony charges. All the charges except a misdemeanor were later dropped, and the 41 were sentenced to 35 days in jail and fined. All of them served their sen-

charges of "subversion" and of not being a genuine student were dropped. This left only the technical charge related to his Canadian visit as the basis for the deportation attempt. However, the real reason behind the INS attack is explained in an INS report.

It said that "investigations were conducted to identify certain aliens involved in demonstrations protesting the national effort in Vietnam and elsewhere, and to determine their amenability to service proceedings." Another report discussed INS investigations of foreign students "involved in student disorders."

Following the formation of the defense committee, Babak's brother, Siamak, and Bahram Atai, the national secretary of the committee, were also ordered deported. The INS was forced to back down and withdraw the charges against Bahram Atai. Both Siamak and Babak Zahraie are awaiting INS hearings on requests for permanent residency status in the U.S. If they are denied this status they will appeal the decision in the federal courts.

"We think we can win this case," Babak says. In order to publicize his case and win broad support, he has begun a national speaking tour. In Oregon he spoke to meetings at Portland State University, Lewis and Clark College, Reed College, and the University of Portland. He also spoke at the University of Oregon in Eugene and at Oregon State University at Corvallis, where a meeting of 80 people was organized by the Arab Student Union.

Foreign students generally have responded well to Zahraie's tour since they know firsthand of the type of harassment he is undergoing. About 100 of the 140 students at a meeting on the University of Texas campus in Austin were Iranian students. In Minneapolis Zahraie spoke at a rally organized by Greek students in solidarity with the struggle going on there. Similarly, a meeting of 90 at the University of Pennsylvania was composed mainly of foreign students.

Also, the recent National Lawyers Guild convention passed a resolution endorsing Zahraie's case after hearing him speak.

Endorsers of the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie include Eugene McCarthy, Wayne Morse, Representative Paul McCloskey of California, Representative Joel Pritchard of Washington, attorney Charles Garry, Gloria Steinem, and many student governments and campus organizations around the country. For further information and to send donations, write to the defense committee at P.O. Box 15422, Wedgewood Station, Seattle, Wash. 98115.

tences and paid their fines.

But the incident was not over. For more than two years the consulate has refused to renew the passports of the 41, and the Iranian secret police has terrorized their families in Iran. In the meantime, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is doing its best to deport them.

The Iranian Students Association in the U.S. has announced a nationwide campaign to secure the renewal of the passports of the 41. It urges people to send letters and telegrams of protest to the Iranian consulate and to local newspapers.

For more information, write the Iranian Students Association, Defense Section, P.O. Box 4000 F, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

ARTIST LOOKS AT VIETNAM, USA

Twice in as many months the paintings of Arnold Tractman are on public display. Under the title "Art With a Message/A Political Decade: 1963-1973," his works, those of Afro-American artists Dana Chandler Jr. and Richard Yarde, and of Andy Warhol and others appear at the Brockton Art Center, Brockton, Mass., until April 8.

The marvelous feature of Tractman's oils consists in his drawing the connection between the cruelty and squalor of the United States and its ruthless, arrogant aggression in Vietnam.

In the panel "The Lesson," for instance, President Nixon, dressed in black and lecturing the viewer with a sheaf of papers, points to a map of Southeast Asia branded with symbols of big business: GM, GE, Ford, and Gulf. Beneath him is a Saigon officer executing a captured NLF fighter, pistol aimed at his temple—a scene actually filmed for world television in a Saigon public square several years ago. The integral relation-

Art

ship between the quality of life in the U.S. and the suppression of the colonial revolution is the accent and theme of each painting.

Tractman is no doubt inspired by the increasing number of Afro-American muralists and by the great tradition of the Mexican muralists before World War II. He has taken this tradition and used it to open our eyes to the horror of this society as revealed so starkly in the slaughterhouse of Southeast Asia.

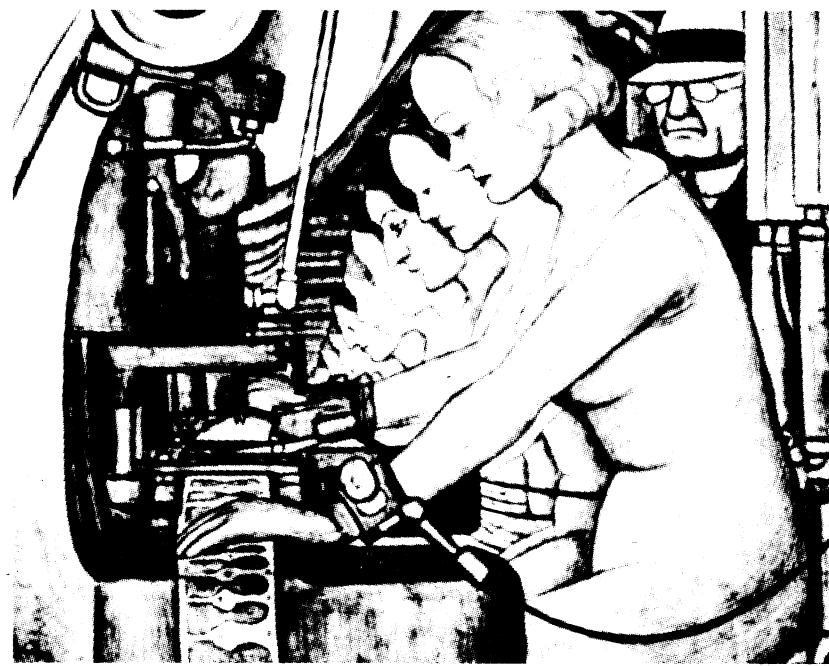
He has not, like Diego Rivera or Orozco, attempted to tell the whole history of the Indian experience under European exploitation. But he has given us a panorama of events, in breathtaking sweep and bold color and design, to spotlight Vietnam and to characterize, indeed, the entire post-World War II counterattack by the imperialist countries against the colonial revolution.

In one panel, "The Ritual," helmeted blue policemen, nightsticks swirling, beat a victim not even visible.

In another, "The Sacrifice," a young Asian soldier in the attitude of death, arms upward and beseeching, is beginning to fall face forward.

In "Events II" broken autos and airplanes in a junk yard, an angry, fleeing Vietnamese woman and baby (half naked), and masses of demonstrators carrying "Peace Now," "Stop the Killing," "End the War," and a big "Bring The Troops Home Now. SMC" banner are overseen by a line of headless blue police with red billy clubs, a man's head with Mickey Mouse ears, and the Madison Avenue symbols, overall, in large garish letters: IBM, GM, DuPont, GE.

— ALAN F. SAWYER JR.



Detail from Diego Rivera fresco

ALIENATION

The Marxist Theory of Alienation. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. Second edition. 94 pp. \$3.95, paper \$1.45.

The cover shows women workers lined up at punch presses, being watched by a boss. The women appear to be handcuffed to the machinery. A nightmare picture! Only in some crazed artist's imagination... but no, inside we read that this Diego Rivera "Portrait of America" panel "was inspired by an actual punch press which was operated by manacled workers whose hands were automatically pulled back by the handcuffs each time the press descended."

The worker operated by the machine?

Why has the curve of mental illness climbed parallel with the curve of material wealth in our advanced capitalist society? Why haven't socialist revolutions been able to eliminate the alienation presumed to be rooted in class society and the separation of the worker from the means of production?

These are some of the questions discussed in this pamphlet. Two of the essays are by Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel, the author of *Marxist Economic Theory*. The introduction and the final essay are by George Novack, noted Marxist scholar.

What is alienation, anyway? Can it be overcome by doing away with large-scale industry? Or by gaining social control over atomic power and automation in order to use them to meet human needs? Novack answers that alienation can be eliminated "not by reverting to any form of primitivism, but by incorporating the highest achievements of science, technology and industry into a collectivized mode of production."

Two arguments frequently raised against the possibility of a socialist revolution in the U.S. are: 1) "It can't happen here"; 2) "If it does, things won't be any better anyway." The essays in this book are valuable aids in answering the second argument in both its typical forms:

• "You can't change human nature." A sophisticated form of this argument is the existentialist view that alienation is endemic to human existence. But this unhistorical argument seems to assume

Books

that people will "always be condemned to work very hard to fulfill unsatisfied needs."

For example, Hegel had recognized that humans become alienated when they lose control over their own labor. But he did not see the dialectic, later discovered by Marx, whereby the alienated workers themselves become the strategically placed social force that can end capitalist alienation.

• "Look at Russia." Since Marx said socialism would mean the overcoming of alienation, why are people still alienated in Soviet society? Mandel takes on the bourgeois thinkers and "existentializers" of Marxism (like Adam Schaff) who say that since alienation remains in socialist societies, Marx was wrong. Mandel follows Trotsky's analysis of alienation in Soviet society and concludes not that Marx was wrong but that *socialism* has not yet been achieved.

The central contradiction in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism is the conflict "between the socialized mode of production and the bourgeois norms of distribution" (consumer goods remain rationed commodities). And as long as there exists a social division of labor in which each person's life is dominated by one narrow job, alienation will continue.

To these inevitable causes of alienation is added the "bureaucratic distortion" of Soviet society, which intensifies social inequality. The way out is not to institute more market anarchy nor authoritarian planning, but to replace the bureaucratic usurpers with democratically run workers councils and to raise productivity so that labor time becomes marginal.

As Novack sums up: "For all its mighty accomplishments, to work for a living is not the height of human evolution or the ultimate career of humanity. . . . Compulsory labor is the mark of social poverty and oppression. *Free time for all is the characteristic of a truly human existence.*"

— JIM MORGAN

STRUGGLE IN SOVIET BLOC FOR RIGHTS

The Struggle for Socialist Democracy in the Soviet Bloc by Gus Horowitz. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. 30 pp. 60 cents.

The past several years have seen an upsurge of revolutionary activity in every part of the globe. While American radicals have generally supported the struggles of oppressed peoples in the colonial world and in advanced capitalist countries, there has been relatively little notice taken of an equally important segment of the world revolution—the rising rebellion of the Soviet and East European masses against political domination by the conservative bureaucracy centered in the Kremlin.

This rebellion includes the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the workers' uprisings in Poland in late 1970, the rise of the Yugoslav student movement, and the growth of dissidence in the Soviet Union.

Surrounding these events has been a certain amount of confusion, resulting from the Kremlin's cries of "counterrevolution" and the willingness of

Pamphlets

the American mass media to acquiesce in that lie.

Gus Horowitz's pamphlet is an excellent antidote to that confusion. He clearly demonstrates the *prosocialist* nature of the struggle in the Soviet



Rally for democratic rights in Prague, 1968.

bloc and explains how the movements arrayed against the Kremlin complement the revolutionary struggles in other parts of the world.

For example, if the demand for national self-determination is the motive force for revolution among Vietnamese, Palestinians, and Afro-Americans, it is no less so for Ukrainians, Latvians, and Poles.

In addition to the national question, Horowitz also relates the movement for women's liberation and the worldwide youth radicalization to the process that is unfolding in the bureaucratized workers states.

Beginning in 1968 the tempo of political developments in the Soviet bloc has increased. Anyone who wants to get the facts about and a feel for the coming political revolutions should pick up this pamphlet.

— CLIFF CONNER

Militant sales up by 50 percent

By NANCY COLE

MARCH 28 — Since the beginning of the sales campaign four weeks ago, single copy sales of *The Militant* have jumped from 4,253 to this week's 6,303—an increase of almost 50 percent! This brings us a long way toward our goal of 7,000 street sales a week.

Many areas have found it possible to reach their quotas early in the campaign, and a few have already increased their goals.

Some cities have taken large quotas, which they plan to reach by the end of the campaign in May. One of those places is Boston, where 158 *Militants* were sold the first week. This week the figure was just about doubled, with 312 sold. Their goal is 500.

Twin Cities supporters also have a large quota to tackle—425—and just since last week their sales increased by 70.

Chicago has been moving steadily each week toward its goal of 500. Out of the 410 sold last week, 200 were sold in the Black community—78 at shopping centers, 55 at an Operation PUSH meeting, and the rest on street corners. Chicago SWP organizer Pearl Chertov sold a total of 57 during the week.

Houston members of the SWP and YSA maintained their high sales and came closer to their new goal of 500, even while spending much of their time moving to a new forum hall and bookstore last week. Their regular sales at factories were continued, and they sold 70 there last week.

The top area in sales this week was Oakland/Berkeley, with a total of 465. Supporters there sold at a variety of locations, including 50 at SWP campaign meetings, 57 on city campuses, 60 at actions in support of Wounded Knee, 150 at the airport, and 40 on campuses in the surrounding region.

The current issue of *The Militant* offers supporters a good opportunity to reach those people hardest hit by rising prices. Beginning or stepping up sales at supermarkets and shopping centers, at unemployment and welfare offices, at work places and pay lines, and in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities should bring good results.

Militant scoreboard

AREA	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL	SOLD PREVIOUS WEEK
Cincinnati	100	70	143 (100)
Upper West Side	406	325	125 (342)
San Diego	275	225	122 (348)
Amherst	30	25	120 (*)
Lower Manhattan	375	325	115 (515)
Cleveland	274	250	110 (305)
Atlanta	262	250	105 (233)
Austin	207	200	104 (193)
Seattle	260	250	104 (263)
Philadelphia	279	275	101 (275)
Huntington	20	20	100 (25)
Providence	40	40	100 (*)
St. Cloud	20	20	100 (*)
Storrs	29	30	97 (29)
Oakland/Berkeley	465	500	93 (419)
Detroit	310	350	89 (270)
Houston	430	500	86 (400)
Chicago	410	500	82 (380)
Portland	161	200	81 (144)
San Francisco	368	500	74 (581)
Brooklyn	226	325	70 (457)
Twin Cities	296	425	70 (226)
Denver	156	225	69 (236)
Hartford	24	35	69 (28)
Boston	312	500	62 (330)
Madison	34	55	62 (33)
Los Angeles	309	550	56 (340)
Boulder	36	65	55 (*)
College Park	26	50	52 (*)
Washington	130	250	52 (210)
Tallahassee	25	50	50 (*)
Long Island	8	45	18 (25)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	6,303		
GOAL	7,000		
(*no report)			

I WANT TO TAKE A SALES QUOTA OF _____

Please send me a weekly bundle of (12.5 cents/copy, payable after you sell them): 5 10 25 Other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

YS teams sign up new members

By DELPFINE WELCH

MARCH 28 — A total of 3,588 socialist newspapers—1,940 *Militants* and 1,648 *Young Socialists*—were sold on scores of campuses last week by the traveling Young Socialist Teams, an average of 320 per team.

Each team's current goal is to sell 150 *Militants* and 150 *Young Socialists* each week, and the teams hope to be able to raise their sights soon.

The Philadelphia-D.C. team, which surpassed both their sales goals, found high school students very interested in the *Young Socialist*. They sold 46 in two mornings at Reading High School in Pennsylvania.

The Boston team was just setting up their table at the University of Maine in Orono when a student bought 10 copies of the *Young Socialist*, keeping one for himself and putting the rest near other periodicals around the Student Union for students to read. Two other students there decided to join the YSA, including a former member of the Young Workers Liberation League.

Altogether, 12 people joined the YSA last week through the work of the teams, making a total of 20 new members the teams have signed up since they have been on the road.

Many of the teams found the campus media interested in their activities. Sarah Ryan, captain of the Atlanta team, was interviewed by WTGR, the Memphis State University radio station. The interviewer was especially interested in what socialists thought about the struggle of Native Americans at Wounded Knee.

The *Daily Kansan* interviewed members of the Denver team during their stay at the University of Kansas at Lawrence. The team was also interviewed by KGIW, an Alamosa, Colo., radio station. Carole Newcomb of the New York team participated in a two and a half hour radio program, "Women in Politics," run by the Women's Alliance at the State University of New York at New Paltz.

\$178 has come into the Young Socialist Teams

Young Socialist teams

TEAM	MILITANT		YOUNG SOCIALIST	
	SOLD LAST WEEK	%	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
Cleveland-Detroit	213	142	300	200
Philadelphia-D. C.	191	127	273	182
Berkeley-San Francisco	189	126	211	141
Atlanta	177	118	150	100
Austin-Houston	171	114	61	41
Boston	166	107	140	93
Chicago	150	100	119	79
Denver	191	127	142	95
Los Angeles-San Diego	119	79	96	77
New York	190	127	120	80
Twin Cities	183	122	36	24
TOTAL SOLD	1,940	118	1,648	100

\$0 \$5,830 \$10,000

() I can contribute \$_____ to the \$10,000 YS Teams Fund.

() I can provide food and housing, set up a speaking engagement or interview, or otherwise help a team visiting my area.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

YS Teams Fund, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Strip-mining ripoff

"We can never rest in the effort to preserve and improve our good earth," President Nixon said last month as he declared the week of April 8 "Earth Week."

Once again, he had things backwards.

Take strip mining, for example. The Nixon administration refuses to regulate, let alone ban, strip mining. On the other hand, it's the giant strip-mining machines like the "Gem of Egypt" (below) that really never rest. This 7,000-ton, 200-foot-tall monster operates 24 hours a day, 364 days a year. It's scalping the once-lush farmland of southern Ohio at the rate of 200 tons of topsoil each time it digs in.

The "Gem" leaves a trail of desolation, ruin, and waste: jumbled mounds of debris, pools of stagnant water, shattered tree trunks, rivers and streams choked with sediment and destroyed by acid-yellow water. Much like the bombed-out land-

American Way of Life

scape of Vietnam.

Why? Peter Borelli gives the answer in a recent issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin*: it's more profitable than deep mining. "Coal can be strip-mined," he writes, "at an average cost of about \$1.50 per ton less than deep-mined coal, although the coal mined by both methods sells for about the same amount."

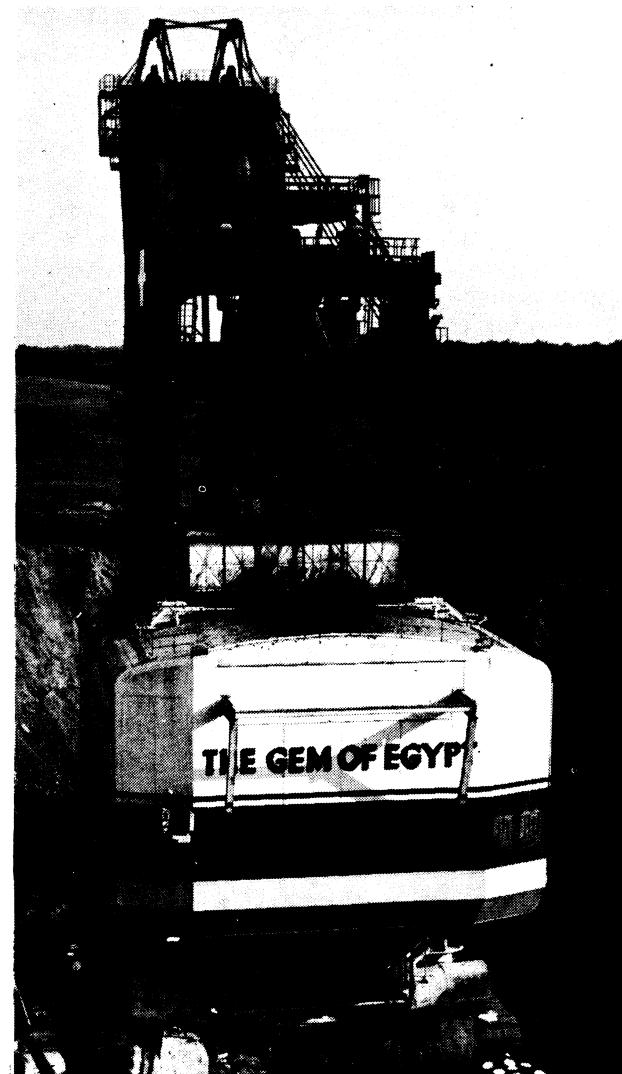
The big coal operators like Consolidation, Pittston, Island Creek, and Hanna are perfectly willing to destroy good land to squeeze out that extra margin of profit (about \$5,000 to \$7,000 per acre).

One of the worst things about strip mining is that the damage goes far beyond the areas actually mined. In mountainous regions, areas above the mines are cut off from use. Areas directly below are unsafe because of the constant danger of landslides. Heavy runoffs of sediment pollute the waterways for miles. In fact, haphazard mining has already polluted more than 10,000 miles of streams and rivers.

Consolidation Coal, the country's largest strip-mining outfit, has the gall to call itself "the responsible company." One Bureau of Mines official Borelli talked to had a more accurate description.

"They are the same arrogant bastards as always," he said, "and they would rather spend their money wheeling and dealing in Washington than cleaning up their mines."

—MICHAEL BAUMANN



Robert Seljan
The Hanna Coal Company runs this giant strip-mining machine around the clock, 364 days a year.

Calendar

ATLANTA

MILITANT BOOKSTORE FORUM SERIES. Held every week on topics of interest—the Black struggle, women's liberation, the Vietnamese revolution, socialism—panels, films, guest speakers, debates. Every Friday, 8:30 p.m., 68 Peachtree St., downtown Atlanta. For information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

ASPECTS OF GAY LIBERATION. Panel discussion with: Diana Travis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge school committee; Midge Silvio, Red River Dykes; Laura McMurry; and a representative from Homophile Community Health Service. Fri., April 6, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CHICAGO

IS THE U.S. REALLY OUT OF VIETNAM? Speaker: Wendy Reissner, national antiwar director of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 6, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Preforum dinner, 6 p.m., \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

LOS ANGELES

THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 8 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: economics; ecology; the struggles of women, Blacks, and Chicanos for liberation; the antiwar movement; literature and art; the student movement; trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK CITY

DEBATE: THE RACE FOR MAYOR. Hear the candidates for mayor of New York. Fri., April 6, 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Herman Badillo, Mario Biaggi, Al Blumenthal, Tony Chaikin, Sanford Garelik, Jesse Gray, Ed Koch, Norman Oliver, Rasheed Storey. Loeb Student Center, 566 LaGuardia Pl. (at Washington Square So.) Sponsored by Loeb Program Board, NYU. Admission: free.

PHILADELPHIA

THE ROLE OF ISRAEL IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Speakers: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis*; Jim Zogby, teacher at Shippensburg College. Fri., April 6, 8 p.m. Houston Hall, Second Floor, U of Pa., 3417 Spruce St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Philadelphia Socialist Forums. For more information call (215) WA 5-4316.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 1973 CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Speakers: Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; Bruce Kaufman, candidate for Philadelphia district attorney; Harvey McArthur, candidate for city controller; Len Lear, writer for *Philadelphia Tribune*. Fri., April 13. Dinner, 7:30 p.m.; Rally, 8:30 p.m. Donation: \$4; rally only, \$1. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market.)

SOCIALIST CONFERENCE. Sat., April 14. Panels: 11 a.m.: Black Americans and the Crisis of Our Cities; 1:30 p.m.: Imperialism, Vietnam, and the Colonial Revolution; 3:30 p.m.: What Socialist America Will Look Like; 7 p.m.: Perspectives for Labor in '73. Stittler Hall, Room B21, U of Pa., 37th & Walnut. Donation: 50c per session; half price for h.s. students. For more information call (215) WA 5-4316.

PORTLAND

THE MILITANT FORUM presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 7:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: the struggles of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans for liberation; the trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

SAN FRANCISCO

EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM WOUNDED KNEE. Speaker: Joe Johnson, on-the-spot reporter for The Militant at Wounded Knee, national committee member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 6, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. (between Van Ness & 11th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE SWP ON THE AIR. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly radio program, 2 p.m. every Saturday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Speakers: Joe Johnson, Mary Hillary, Harry DeBoer, Jane Van Deusen. Sat., April 7. Refreshments, 5:30 p.m.; Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; Rally, 8 p.m. Donation: dinner and rally, \$3.50; rally only, \$1.50. 1 University Ave., N.E., Mpls. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

TOWARDS A SOCIALIST AMERICA—A weekend conference, April 6-7. George Washington University Student Center, 800 21st St. N.W. Fri., April 6, 8 p.m., Room 410: Panel: Pan Africanism and the African Liberation Struggles and film *A Luta Continua*. Sat., April 7, 11 a.m., Room 405: Billy Graham, the Pope, and Feminism. Speaker: Linda Jenness; 1:30 p.m.: Vietnam and Nixon's World Strategy. Speaker: Derrick Morrison; 3 p.m.: film *To Make a Revolution*. Donation \$2.75 for all sessions or \$1 per session. For more information call (202) 783-2363.

RALLY AND BANQUET to launch a socialist campaign for school committee, Sat. evening, April 7. Featured speaker: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential candidate. Donation: \$4. For more information call (202) 783-2363.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. **Display ad rates:** \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). **Payment must be included with ads.** The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

...Shell

Continued from page 5

furnace exploded upon ignition.)

"Henderson wouldn't have died,"

Montgomery said, "if we had a health and safety grievance procedure that would allow a worker union representation before he had to decide between his life and his job."

The four continued for some time explaining the many instances of Shell irresponsibility. One example is their official policy toward the sick and injured on the job. One man had a heart attack. He was kept on the site until he could be "properly relieved." he died because the cab (not an ambulance) was called too late.

Carol Swanson told me more about the activities and attitudes of the wives of oil workers. "No wife with children wants to be out on strike." She stopped and thought. "If it was for money — maybe they would be against the strike. [The strike has been going on since Jan. 24.] "But you have to understand, this strike involves our whole life. Some women were anti-union because they didn't understand. But they came to union meetings. They came to understand. Now I don't know one wife who is against the strike."

The discussion became more animated when Swanson touched on the women's preparation for the protest against the sheriff's department. "When Shell calls they send squad cars in minutes. In one case they sent 11 squad cars—nine from the sheriff's department and two from the highway patrol—in two minutes flat. For nothing!

"In contrast, we had a guy picketing who was run over by a scab—busted his kneecap. Three sheriff's deputies in two squads were watching across the street. As the poor guy hobbled toward them, one squad car sped away and the deputies in the other told him, 'It's out of our jurisdiction—call the highway patrol,' and off they went too!"

As I left I noticed a clipping from the San Francisco *Chronicle* on the bulletin board outside. It was a picture of George Meany sunbathing in Miami Beach. On it were little comments written by different oil workers: "Your leadership is doing everything possible to support you," "Victory is at hand," "Son of a bitch—scab lover [Nixon]."

The role of the AFL-CIO officialdom is a story in itself, the subject of another article.

...Berkeley

Continued from page 16

SOCIALIST ALLIANCE. Kathryn Pon, 20, is active in the Asian and women's liberation movement. Nancy Mackler, 22, is a well-known antiwar activist, as is Brian Williams, 21, also a YSA national committee member.

They are running on a revolutionary-socialist program that addresses itself to the needs of all those who pay the price of capitalist rule; a program designed to help lead to a socialist America.

Contrast the revolutionary approach of the SWP ticket to the reformism of the April Coalition.

Jeff Gordon, a founding leader of the Coalition, recently told one reporter (*Los Angeles Times*, March 15, 1973) it simply wasn't true that the Coalition is "antibusiness."

"It's true," he said, "that the other side is more favorable to business interests than we are. We wanted a progressive municipal income tax which would tax business. We feel that large business firms in Berkeley are not paying their fair share. . . . On the other hand, we fully understand the need for a business community that is able to survive economically. It is critical for the life of the city."

Independent radicals may have greater or lesser disagreements with the politics of the Socialist Workers Party but if they are serious about their radical commitment, they will certainly choose support to the SWP ticket as against being the tail to capitalist politics.

Labor Challenge

For regular coverage of the Canadian labor movement, read **Labor Challenge**, a revolutionary-socialist bi-weekly.

Subscriptions: \$3 a year. **Labor Challenge**, P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ontario.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isobell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: (213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Norm Holsinger, 817a 27 St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-1883.

San Diego: Militant Bookstore, SWP and YSA, 5617 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 582-3352.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Chico Aldape, 543 S. 9th #5, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-8492.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m. -7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, U of Conn., P.O. Box 344, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Lawrence Roth/Mark Harris, 505 S. Graham, #341, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St. Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FRR-0289.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

THE MILITANT

Gov't tries to isolate Wounded Knee Indians, but support actions multiply

By SKIP BALL

MARCH 28 — Indications that the government is attempting to provoke a bloody confrontation at Wounded Knee have begun to mount rapidly. On March 26 tribal police on the Oglala Sioux Pine Ridge Reservation set up roadblocks around Wounded Knee outside those already established by FBI agents and federal marshals.

Following the orders of Richard Wilson (the corrupt tribal chief whose removal is one of the demands of the Wounded Knee occupation), the tribal police have refused to allow food, lawyers, or reporters to pass through their roadblocks.

Wilson acted the day after U.S. District Judge Andrew Bogue issued a Court order allowing six carloads of food a day to go into Wounded Knee. Insisting that the Wounded Knee occupiers were violating the law, Wilson and his supporters challenged the federal government to make a choice between shooting them or the Indians in Wounded Knee.

The government's answer was given yesterday when Judge Bogue rescinded the order allowing food into Wounded Knee, and as government forces pumped thousands of rounds of rifle and machine-gun fire into the tiny hamlet. Assistant Attorney General Kent Frizzell struck an ominous note in his statements to reporters, saying, "The fun and games are over. This is senseless. It has got to stop, one way or the other."

Frizzell made his threat even more explicit, claiming that although the government had not yet set a deadline for the surrender of the Indians in Wounded Knee, further delay "invites further violence."

In light of Frizzell's eagerness to end the Wounded Knee occupation "one way or the other," it would hardly be surprising if government officials had known of and approved Wilson's plan to set up additional roadblocks. Government officials are the only ones allowed past the roadblocks set up by Wilson's goons.

Dick LaCourse of the American Indian Press Association (AIPA), reports that there are now units of tribal and BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) police from "at least eight and maybe 12 reservations in Wyoming, Utah, Montana, and North and South Dakota" on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Jess Larges, the director of the Denver chapter of the American Indian Movement (AIM), said that tribal police from the Arapahoe and Shoshone reservation in Wyoming have been recalled from Pine Ridge under pressure

from their reservations. Larges is an enrolled Shoshone, and his brother is the director of the AIM chapter in Wind River, Wyoming.

While AIM leaders continue court actions against the government siege of Wounded Knee, the Oglala Sioux and AIM occupiers have vowed to continue holding the area at least until the government responds to Sioux demands to remove Wilson and the AIM demands concerning treaty rights.

Their struggle is gaining increasing support, as was shown most dramatically last night when Marlon Brando refused to accept the Oscar for best actor of the year in order to "focus attention" on the plight of the Indians. Shasheen Little Feather, an Apache, read a statement by Brando in which he said, "If we are not our brother's keeper, at least let us not be his executioner."

Wounded Knee backers indicted

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A federal grand jury in Las Vegas indicted 13 Wounded Knee supporters March 21 on charges of crossing state lines to "incite a riot."

The 13 (11 Indians and two Chicanos), along with three white high school students, were arrested March 16 by FBI agents as they allegedly crossed the California state line into Nevada with medicine and other supplies bound for Wounded Knee.

A few were released on their own recognizance; some raised bail on their own. Entertainer Sammy Davis Jr. provided nearly \$6,000 to post bond for the rest.

Out on \$10,000 bail, Archie Fire, Western regional director of AIM, held a news conference soon after returning to Los Angeles. He explained that the 16 had actually been arrested in California and then taken across the state line by FBI agents and Nevada cops. He also explained that the supplies they had consisted entirely of medicine, canned goods, clothing, and the like.

In response to reporters' questions, Fire said that AIM was not responsible for any violence, either in Wounded Knee or in Los Angeles, but that "if anything does happen, it will be the fault of the federal marshals." Fire is an Oglala Sioux from Pine Ridge Reservation.

ACLU spokeswoman Ramona Ripston issued a statement on the arrests, saying, "We condemn the use of the federal anti-riot law as a further step in the escalation of Mr. Nixon's Indian war. If it is a crime for American Indians to cross state lines and carry medical supplies and food, then all Americans and their freedom to travel are in jeopardy."

The three high school students who were arrested with the caravan but not indicted said, "We believe the government has no better case against any of the other 13 indicted defendants than it did against us. The arrests and indictments occurred solely as a means of intimidating and inhib-



Los Angeles rally March 24 in support of Wounded Knee

Militant/Jack Barrett

iting support for the Oglala Sioux nation and the struggle of American Indians all across the country."

More than three hundred people attended a rally at the federal building here March 24 in solidarity with Wounded Knee and the 13 indicted in Las Vegas. The rally was organized by the United People for Wounded Knee (UPWK). Speaking at the rally were Archie Fire; Julie Christiansen, an Indian student at UCLA; *Los Angeles Free Press* reporter Ron Ridenour; Al Dorch from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Also, Jane Fonda; Emily Gibson from UPWK; Black actor William Marshall; and Javier Rodriguez from the Committee to Free Los Tres. Also speaking were Dr. Constance Uri and Dr. Isidore Ziferstein of the Concerned Physicians for Wounded Knee, a group of prominent doctors that had helped collect the medical supplies the caravan carried.

from the overflow crowd by reading the Message of Peace delivered by Chief Red Cloud to a crowd of New Yorkers in 1870. "I have tried to tell the Great Father in Washington what is right and just," said Red Cloud. "I have not altogether succeeded. Will you help us?"

Chief Frank Fool Crow, a longtime leader of the Oglala Sioux, spoke through an interpreter in his native Dakota. He received loud sustained applause several times, particularly when he said, "I said it before, but I want to say it again. I want the FBI and the federal marshals out of my country!"

Another speaker, Meredith Quinn, quoted an Indian prophecy to illustrate the unity of Indian support for the occupation: "When we walk in step, no one shall stop us."

This Indian unity was strikingly visible during the day. Present were Indians from the Six Nations—the Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, Seneca, Tuscarora, and the Cayuga. Also represented were the Shinnecock from Long Island, Assanisco from Massachusetts, the Osage, Cherokee, Navajo, and many others. Seven chiefs from the Sioux nation who have been seeking support for the Wounded Knee struggle at the United Nations initiated the meeting.

Other meetings and demonstrations in support of the Indians at Wounded Knee also took place around the country. On March 21 about 100 people, roughly two-thirds of them Indians, held a rally at the Chicago Civic Center. This demonstration was called by the Chicago Wounded Knee Conference Committee.

Forty people picketed the Houston federal building on March 24 in an action organized by the American Indian Movement (AIM), while about 200 marched through downtown Tulsa, Okla., despite a drenching rain.

In Philadelphia on March 23 more than 100 people attended a Socialist forum in support of the struggle at Wounded Knee. An eyewitness report was given by Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. Other speakers included Krystal Wilhelm, a Canadian Indian, and Dr. Theodore Hetzel of the Indian Defense Association.



Militant/Peter Archer
Chicago support rally March 21



Militant/Jack Barrett
Los Angeles Wounded Knee supporter